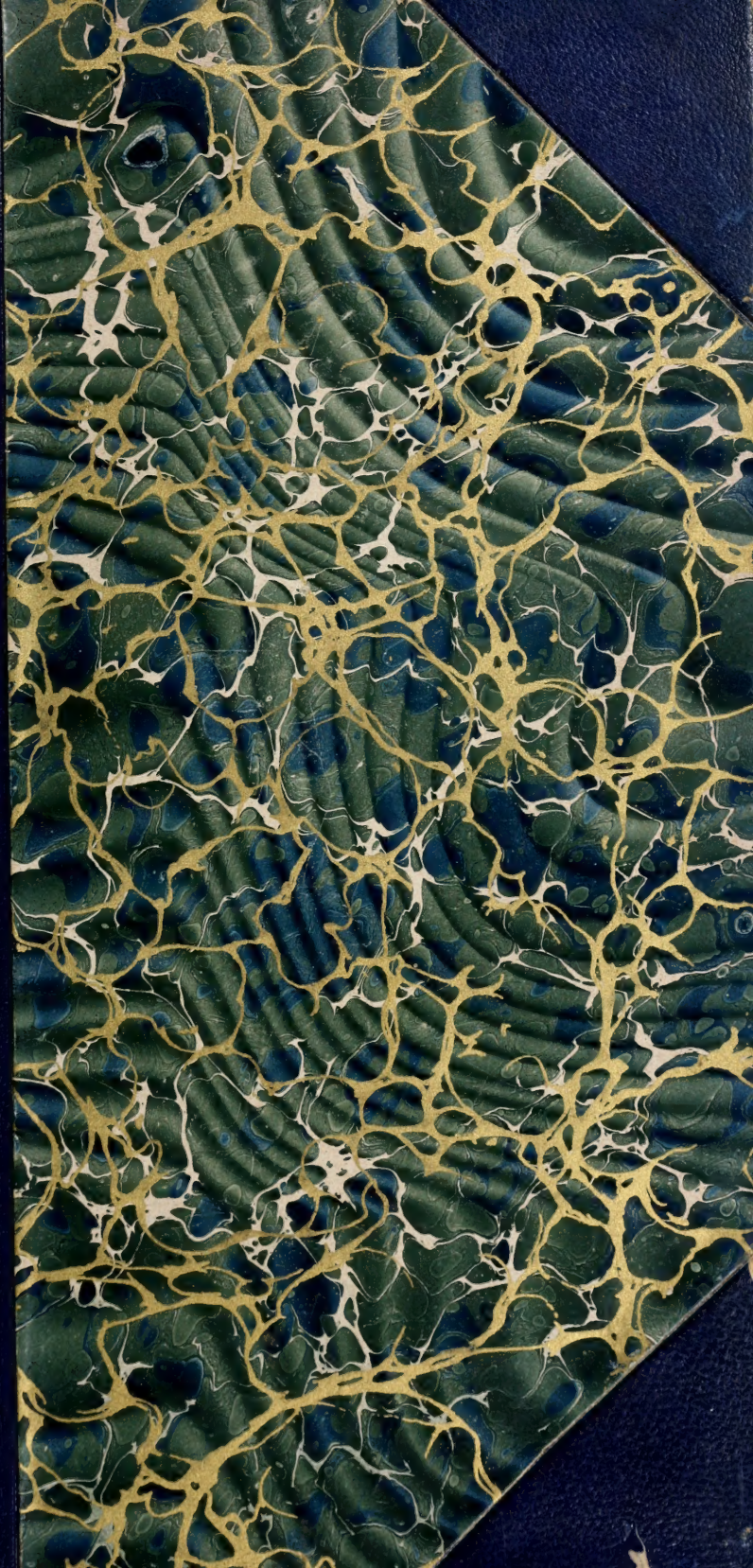


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THE HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION



THE HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION
1789—1800

By LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS, FROM THE MOST
AUTHENTIC SOURCES, BY

FREDERICK SHOBERL

New Edition, with upwards of Forty Illustrations on Steel
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IN FIVE VOLUMES
VOL. II.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME II.

MURDER OF THE PRINCESSE DE LAMBALLE	<i>to face Title</i>
PORTRAIT OF THE PRINCESSE DE LAMBALLE	44
PORTRAIT OF MADAME ROLAND	74
LOUIS XVI. AT THE CONVENTION	180
LAST INTERVIEW OF LOUIS XVI. WITH HIS FAMILY	214
PORTRAIT OF LOUIS XVI.	218
PORTRAIT OF DUMOURIEZ	284
TRIUMPH OF MARAT	298
PORTRAIT OF LAROCHEJAQUELEIN	312

THE HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CONCLUSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

THE Swiss had courageously defended the Tuileries, but their resistance had proved unavailing: the great staircase had been stormed, and the palace taken. The people, thenceforward victorious, forced their way on all sides into this abode of royalty, to which they had always attached the notion of immense treasures, unbounded felicity, formidable powers, and dark projects. What an arrear of vengeance to be wreaked at once upon wealth, greatness, and power!

Eighty Swiss grenadiers, who had not had time to retreat, vigorously defended their lives, and were slaughtered without mercy. The mob then rushed into the apartments and fell upon those useless friends who had assembled to defend the King, and who, by the name of *Knights of the Dagger*, had incurred the highest degree of popular rancour. Their impotent weapons served only to exasperate the conquerors, and to give greater probability to the plans imputed to the Court. Every door that was found locked was broken open. Two ushers, resolving to defend the entrance to the great council chamber, and to sacrifice themselves to etiquette, were instantly butchered. The numerous attendants of the royal family fled tumultuously through the long galleries, threw themselves from the windows, or sought in the immense extent of the palace some obscure hiding-place wherein to save their lives. The Queen's ladies betook themselves to one of her apartments, and expected every moment to be

attacked in their asylum. By direction of the *Princesse de Tarentum*, the doors were unlocked, that the irritation might not be increased by resistance. The assailants made their appearance and seized one of them. The sword was already uplifted over her head. "Spare the women!" exclaimed a voice; "let us not dishonour the nation!" At these words the weapon dropped; the lives of the Queen's ladies were spared; they were protected and conducted out of the palace by the very men who were on the point of sacrificing them, and who, with all the popular fickleness, now escorted them, and manifested the most ingenious zeal to save them.

After the work of slaughter followed that of devastation. The magnificent furniture was dashed in pieces, and the fragments scattered far and wide. The rabble penetrated into the private apartments of the Queen and indulged in the most obscene mirth. They pried into the most secret recesses, ransacked every depository of papers, broke open every lock, and enjoyed the twofold gratification of curiosity and destruction. To the horrors of murder and pillage were added those of conflagration. The flames, having already consumed the sheds contiguous to the outer courts, began to spread to the edifice, and threatened that imposing abode of royalty with complete ruin. The desolation was not confined to the melancholy circuit of the palace; it extended to a distance. The streets were strewed with wrecks of furniture and dead bodies. Every one who fled, or was supposed to be fleeing, was treated as an enemy, pursued, and fired at. An almost incessant report of musketry succeeded that of the cannon, and was every moment the signal of fresh murders. How many horrors are the attendants of victory, be the vanquished, the conquerors, and the cause for which they have fought, who and what they may!

The executive power being abolished by the suspension of Louis XVI., only two other authorities were left in Paris—that of the *Commune* and that of the *Assembly*. As we have seen in the narrative of the 10th of August, deputies of the sections had assembled at the *Hôtel de Ville*, expelled the former magistrates, seized the municipal power, and directed the insurrection during the whole night and day of the 10th. They possessed the real power of action. They had all the ardour of victory, and represented that new and impetuous revolutionary class which had struggled during the whole session against the inertness of the other more enlightened but less active class of men of which the *Legislative Assembly* was composed.

The first thing the deputies of the sections did, was to displace all the high authorities, which, being closer to the supreme power, were more attached to it. They had suspended the staff of the national guard, and by withdrawing Mandat from the palace, had disorganized its defence. Santerre had been invested by them with the command of the national guard. They had been in not less haste to suspend the administration of the department, which, from the lofty region wherein it was placed, had continually curbed the popular passions, in which it took no share.

As for the municipality, they had suppressed the general council, substituted themselves in the place of its authority, and merely retained Petion, the mayor, Manuel, the *procureur syndic*, and the sixteen municipal administrators. All this had taken place during the attack on the palace. Danton had audaciously directed that stormy sitting; and when the grape-shot of the Swiss had caused the mob to fall back along the quays, he had gone out, saying, "Our brethren call for aid; let us go and give it to them." His presence had contributed to lead the populace back to the field of battle, and to decide the victory.

When the combat was over it was proposed that Petion should be released from the guard placed over him, and reinstated in his office of mayor. Nevertheless, either from real anxiety for his safety, or from fear of giving themselves too scrupulous a chief during the first moments of the insurrection, it had been decided that he should be guarded a day or two longer, under pretext of putting his life out of danger. At the same time they had removed the busts of Louis XVI., Bailly, and Lafayette from the hall of the general council. The new class which was raising itself thus displaced the first emblems of the Revolution, in order to substitute its own in their stead.

The insurgents of the commune had to place themselves in communication with the Assembly. They reproached it with wavering, nay, even with royalism; but they regarded it as the only existing sovereign authority, and were not at all disposed to undervalue it. On the morning of the 10th a deputation appeared at the bar, to acquaint it with the formation of the insurrectional commune, and to state what had been done. Danton was one of the deputies. "The people, who send us to you," said he, "have charged us to declare that they still think you worthy of their confidence, but that they recognize no other judge of the extraordinary measures to which necessity has forced them to recur than the French nation, our sovereign

and yours, convoked in the primary assemblies." To these deputies the Assembly replied, through the medium of its president, that it approved all that had been done, and that it recommended to them order and peace. It moreover communicated to them the decrees passed in the course of the day, and begged that they would circulate them. After this it drew up a proclamation for the purpose of enjoining the respect due to persons and property, and commissioned some of its members to convey it to the people.

Its first attention at this moment was naturally directed to the supply of a substitute for royalty, which had been destroyed. The ministers, assembled under the name of the executive council, were charged by it, *ad interim*, with the duties of the administration and the execution of the laws. The minister of justice, the keeper of the seal of State, was to affix it to the decrees, and to promulgate them in the name of the legislative power. It was then requisite to select the persons who should compose the ministry. The first idea was to reinstate Roland, Clavières, and Servan, who had been removed on account of their attachment to the popular cause; for the new Revolution could not but favour all that royalty had disapproved. Those three ministers were therefore unanimously reappointed: Roland to the interior, Servan to the war department, and Clavières to the finances. It was requisite also to appoint a minister of justice, of foreign affairs, and of the marine. Here the choice was free, and the wishes formerly conceived in favour of obscure merit and patriotism, ardent, and for that reason disagreeable to the Court, could be realized without impediment. Danton, who possessed such influence over the multitude, and who had exerted it with such effect during the last forty-eight hours, was deemed necessary; and though he was disliked by the Girondins as a delegate of the populace, he was nominated minister of justice by a majority of two hundred and twenty-two votes out of two hundred and eighty-four. After this satisfaction given to the people, and this post conferred on energy, care was taken to place a man of science at the head of the marine. This was Monge, the mathematician, known to and appreciated by Condorcet, and chosen at his suggestion. Lastly, Lebrun* was placed at the head of the foreign affairs, and in his person was recompensed one of those industrious men who had before performed all the labour of which the ministers reaped the honour.

* "Lebrun passed for a prudent man, because he was destitute of any species of enthusiasm; and for a clever man, because he was a tolerable clerk; but he had no activity, no talent, and no decision."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs*.

Having thus reconstituted the executive power, the Assembly declared that all the decrees to which Louis XVI. had affixed his veto should receive the force of law. The formation of a camp below Paris, the object of one of these decrees, and the cause of such warm discussions, was immediately ordered, and the gunners were authorized that very day to commence esplanades on the heights of Montmartre. After effecting a revolution in Paris, it was requisite to ensure its success in the departments, and above all, in the armies, commanded as they were by suspected generals. Commissaries, selected from among the members of the Assembly, were directed to repair to the provinces and to the armies, to enlighten them respecting the events of the 10th of August; and they were authorized to remove, in case of need, all the officers, civil and military, and to appoint others.

A few hours had been sufficient for all these decrees; and while the Assembly was engaged in passing them, it was constantly interrupted by the necessity of attending to other matters. The valuables carried off from the Tuileries were deposited within its precincts. The Swiss, the servants of the palace, and all those who had been apprehended in their flight, or saved from the fury of the people, were conducted to its bar as to a sanctuary. A great number of petitioners came, one after another, to report what they had done or seen, and to relate their discoveries concerning the supposed plots of the Court. Accusations and invectives of all kinds were brought forward against the royal family, which heard all this from the narrow space to which it was confined. That place was the box of the shorthand writer. Louis XVI. listened with composure to all the speeches, and conversed at times with Vergniaud and other deputies, who were placed close to him. Shut up there for fifteen hours, he asked for some refreshment, which he shared with his wife and his children; and this circumstance called forth ignoble observations on the fondness for the table which had been imputed to him. Every one knows how far victorious parties are disposed to spare misfortune. The young Dauphin was lying on his mother's lap, fast asleep, overcome by the oppressive heat. The young Princess and Madame Elizabeth,* their eyes red with weeping, were by the side of the Queen. At the back of the box were several gentlemen devotedly attached to the King, who had not abandoned misfortune. Fifty men, belonging to the troops which had escorted the royal family from the palace to the

* See Appendix A.

Assembly, served as a guard for this spot, from which the deposed monarch beheld the spoils of his palace, and witnessed the dismemberment of his ancient power, and the distribution of its relics among the various popular authorities.

The tumult continued to rage with extreme violence, and in the opinion of the people it was not sufficient to have suspended royalty, it behoved them to destroy it. Petitions on this subject poured in; and while the multitude, in an uproar, waited outside the hall for an answer, they inundated the avenues, beset the doors, and twice or thrice attacked them with such violence as nearly to burst them open, and to excite apprehensions for the unfortunate family of which the Assembly had taken charge. Henri Larivière, who was sent, with other commissioners, to pacify the people, returned at that moment, and loudly exclaimed, "Yes, gentlemen, I know it, I have seen it; I assure you that the mass of the people is determined to perish a thousand times rather than disgrace liberty by an act of inhumanity; and most assuredly there is not one person here present—and everybody must understand me," he added, "who cannot rely upon French honour." These cheering and courageous words were applauded. Vergniaud spoke in his turn, and replied to the petitioners, who insisted that the suspension should be changed into dethronement. "I am gratified," said he, "that I am furnished with an occasion of explaining the intention of the Assembly in presence of the citizens. It has decreed the suspension of the executive power, and appointed a convention which is to decide irrevocably the great question of the dethronement. In so doing, it has confined itself within its powers, which did not allow it to constitute itself the judge of royalty; and it has provided for the welfare of the State by rendering it impossible for the executive power to do mischief. It has thus satisfied all wants, and at the same time kept within the limits of its prerogatives." These words produced a favourable impression, and the petitioners themselves, pacified by their effect, undertook to enlighten and to appease the people.

It was requisite to bring this long sitting to a close. It was therefore ordered that the effects brought from the palace should be deposited with the commune; that the Swiss and all other persons apprehended should either be guarded at the Feuillans or carried to different prisons; lastly, that the royal family should be guarded in the Luxembourg till the meeting of the National Convention, but that while the necessary preparations were making there for its reception, it should lodge in the building appropriated to the Assembly. At one o'clock

in the morning of Saturday the 11th, the royal family was removed to the quarters which had been prepared for them, and which consisted of four cells of the ancient Feuillans. The gentlemen who had not quitted the King took possession of the first, the King of the second, the Queen, her sister, and her children, of the two others. The keeper's wife waited on the princesses, and supplied the place of the numerous train of ladies who but the preceding day were disputing the honour of attending upon them.

The sitting was suspended at three o'clock in the morning. Paris was still in an uproar. To prevent disturbance the environs of the palace were illuminated, and the greater part of the citizens were under arms.

Such had been that celebrated day, and the results which it had produced. The King and his family were prisoners at the Feuillans; the three dismissed ministers were reinstated in their functions; Danton, buried the preceding day in an obscure club, was minister of justice; Petion was guarded in his own residence, but to his name, shouted with enthusiasm, was added the appellation of *Father of the People*. Marat had issued from the dark retreat where Danton had concealed him during the attack, and now, armed with a sword, paraded through Paris at the head of the Marseilles battalion. Robespierre, who has not been seen figuring during these terrible scenes — Robespierre was haranguing at the Jacobins, and expatiating to some of the members who remained with him on the use to be made of the victory, and on the necessity of superseding the existing Assembly, and of impeaching Lafayette.

The very next day it was found necessary again to consider how to pacify the excited populace, who still continued to murder such persons as they took for fugitive aristocrats. The Assembly resumed its sitting at seven in the morning. The royal family was replaced in the shorthand writer's box, that it might again witness the decisions about to be adopted, and the scenes that were to occur in the Legislative Body. Petion, liberated and escorted by a numerous concourse, came to make a report of the state of Paris, which he had visited, and where he had endeavoured to restore tranquillity. A body of citizens had united to protect his person. Petion was warmly received by the Assembly, and immediately set out again to continue his pacific exhortations. The Swiss sent the preceding day to the Feuillans were threatened. The mob, with loud shouts, demanded their death, calling them accomplices of the palace and murderers of the people. They were at length appeased

by the assurance that the Swiss should be tried, and that a court-martial should be formed to punish those who were afterwards called the conspirators of the 10th of August. "I move," cried the violent Chabot, "that they be conducted to the Abbaye to be tried. . . . In the land of equality the law ought to smite all heads, even those that are seated on the throne." The officers had already been removed to the Abbaye, whither the soldiers were conveyed in their turn. This was a task of infinite difficulty, and it was necessary to promise the people that they should speedily be brought to trial.

Already, as we see, did the idea of taking revenge on all the defenders of royalty, and punishing them for the dangers that had been incurred, possess people's minds; and it was soon destined to produce cruel dissensions. In following the progress of the insurrection, we have already remarked the divisions that began to arise in the popular party. We have already seen the Assembly, composed of sedate and cultivated men, placed in opposition to the clubs and the municipalities, in which were collected men inferior in education and in talents, but from their very position, their less dignified manners, their aspiring ambition, disposed to act and to hurry on events. We have seen that, the night before the 10th of August, Chabot had differed in opinion from Petion, who, in unison with the majority of the Assembly, recommended a decree of dethronement in preference to an attack by main force. Those men who had been advocates for the utmost possible violence were therefore on the following day, in presence of the Assembly, proud of a victory won almost in spite of that body, and reminding it with expressions of equivocal respect that it had absolved Lafayette, and that it must not again compromise the welfare of the people by its weakness. They filled the commune, where they were mingled with ambitious tradesmen, with subaltern agitators, and with members of clubs. They occupied the halls of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, and some of them had seats on the extreme benches of the Legislative Body. Chabot, the Capuchin, the most ardent of them, passed alternately from the tribune of the Assembly to that of the Jacobins, constantly holding forth threats of pikes and the tocsin.

The Assembly had voted the suspension, and the clubs were for dethronement. In appointing a governor for the Dauphin, the former had presupposed the continuance of royalty, and the latter were for a republic. The majority of the Assembly thought that it behoved it to make an active defence against foreigners, but to spare the vanquished. The clubs, on the

contrary, maintained that it was right not only to defend themselves against foreign foes, but to deal severely with those who, entrenched in the palace, had intended to massacre the people and to bring the Prussians to Paris. Rising in their ardour to extreme opinions, they declared that there was no need for electoral bodies to form the new Assembly, that all the citizens ought to be deemed qualified to vote; nay, one Jacobin even proposed to give political rights to the women. Lastly, they loudly insisted that the people ought to come in arms to manifest their wishes to the Legislative Body.

Marat excited this agitation of minds and provoked people to vengeance, because he thought, according to his atrocious system, that France required purging. Robespierre, not so much from a system of purification, nor from a bloodthirsty disposition, as from envy of the Assembly, excited against it reproaches of weakness and royalism. Extolled by the Jacobins, proposed before the 10th of August as the dictator who was wanted, he was now proclaimed as the most eloquent and the most incorruptible defender of the rights of the people.* Danton, taking no pains either to gain praise or to gain a hearing, having never aspired to the dictatorship, had nevertheless decided the result of the 10th of August by his boldness. Even still neglecting all display, he thought only of ruling the executive council, of which he was a member, by controlling or influencing his colleagues. Incapable of hatred or envy, he bore no ill-will to those deputies whose lustre eclipsed Robespierre; but he neglected them as inactive, and preferred to them those bold spirits of the lower classes on whom he relied more for maintaining and completing the Revolution.

Nothing was yet known of these divisions, especially out of Paris. All that the public of France in general had yet perceived of them was the resistance of the Assembly to wishes that were too ardent, and the acquittal of Lafayette, pronounced in spite of the commune and the Jacobins. But all this was imputed to the royalist and Feuillantine majority. The Girondins were still admired. Brissot and Robespierre were equally esteemed; but Petion, in particular, was adored, as the mayor who had been so ill-treated by the Court; and it was not known that Petion appeared too moderate to Chabot, that he wounded the pride of Robespierre, that he was regarded as an honest but useless man by Danton, and as a conspirator doomed to purification by Marat. Petion therefore

* "When speaking at the clubs, Robespierre had a trick of addressing the people in such honeyed terms as 'Poor people!'—'Virtuous people!'—which never failed of producing an effect on his ferocious audience."—*Lauretelle*.

still enjoyed the respect of the multitude; but like Bailly, after the 14th of July, he was destined soon to become troublesome and odious by disapproving the excesses which he was unable to prevent.

The principal coalition of the new revolutionists was formed at the Jacobins and the commune. All that was to be done was proposed and discussed at the Jacobins; and the same persons then went to the Hôtel de Ville, to execute, by means of their municipal powers, what they could only plan in their club. The general council of the commune composed of itself a kind of assembly, as numerous as the Legislative Body, having its tribunes, its bureaux, its much more tumultuous plaudits, and a power *de facto* much more considerable. The mayor was its president, and the *procureur syndic* was the official speaker, whose duty it was to make all the necessary requisitions. Pétion had already ceased to appear there, and confined his attention to the supply of the city with provisions. Manuel, the *procureur*, suffering himself to be borne along by the revolutionary billows, raised his voice there every day. But the person who most swayed this assembly was Robespierre. Keeping aloof during the first three days that followed the 10th of August, he had repaired thither after the insurrection had been consummated, and appearing at the bureau to have his powers verified, he seemed rather to take possession of it than to come for the purpose of submitting his titles. His pride, so far from creating displeasure, only increased the respect that was paid him. His reputation for talents, incorruptibility, and perseverance, made him a grave and respectable personage, whom these assembled tradesmen were proud of having among them. Until the Convention, to which he was sure of belonging, should meet, he came thither to exercise a more real power than that of opinion, which he enjoyed at the Jacobins.

The first care of the commune was to get the police into its hands; for in time of civil war to imprison and to persecute enemies is the most important and the most envied of powers. The justices of peace, charged with the exercise of it in part, had given offence to public opinion by their proceedings against the popular agitators; and either from sentiment, or from a necessity imposed by their functions, they had set themselves in hostility against the patriots. It was recollected, in particular, that one of them had, in the affair of Bertrand de Molleville and Carra, the journalist, dared to summon two deputies. The justices of the peace were therefore removed, and such of their functions as related to the police were transferred to the municipal authorities.

In unison, in this instance, with the commune of Paris, the Assembly decreed that the police, called the police *of general safety*, should be assigned to the departments, districts, and municipalities. It consisted in inquiring into all misdeemeanours threatening the internal and external welfare of the State, in making a list of the citizens suspected for their opinions or their conduct, in apprehending them for a time, and in even dispersing and disarming them if it were necessary. It was the councils of the municipalities that performed these duties; and the entire mass of the citizens was thus called upon to watch, to denounce, and to secure the hostile party. It is easy to conceive how active, but rigorous and arbitrary, this police, thus democratically exercised, must have been. The entire council received the denunciation, and a committee of surveillance examined it, and caused the accused to be apprehended. The national guards were in permanent requisition, and the municipalities of all towns containing more than twenty thousand souls had power to add particular regulations to this law *of general safety*. Assuredly the Legislative Assembly had no notion that it was thus paving the way to the sanguinary executions which not long afterwards took place; but surrounded by enemies at home and abroad, it called upon all the citizens to watch them, as it had called upon them all to attend to the civil administration, and to fight.

The commune of Paris eagerly availed itself of these new powers, and caused many persons to be apprehended. Here we see the conquerors, still exasperated by the dangers of the preceding day and the still greater dangers of the morrow, seizing their enemies, now cast down, but likely soon to rise again by the aid of foreigners. The committee of surveillance of the commune of Paris was composed of the most violent men. Marat, who in the Revolution had made such audacious attacks on persons, was at the head of this committee; and in such an office he of all men was most to be dreaded.

Besides this principal committee, the commune of Paris instituted a particular one in each section. It ordered that passports should not be delivered till after the deliberation of the assemblies of sections; that travellers should be accompanied, either to the municipality or to the gates of Paris, by two witnesses, who should attest the identity of the person who had obtained the passport with him who made use of it for the purpose of departing. It thus strove, by all possible means, to prevent the escape of

suspected persons under fictitious names. It then directed a list of the enemies of the Revolution to be made, and enjoined the citizens, in a proclamation, to denounce all who had shared in the guilt of the 10th of August. It ordered those writers who had supported the royal cause to be apprehended, and gave their presses to patriotic writers. Marat triumphantly obtained the restitution of four presses, which, he said, had been taken from him by order of the *traitor Lafayette*. Commissioners went to the prisons to release those who were confined for shouts or language hostile to the Court. Lastly, the commune, always ready to interfere in everything, sent deputies, after the example of the Assembly, to enlighten and to convert the army of Lafayette, which excited some uneasiness.

To the commune was assigned, moreover, a last and not least important duty—the custody of the royal family. The Assembly had at first ordered its removal to the Luxembourg; but upon the observation that this palace was difficult to guard, it had preferred the hotel of the ministry of justice. But the commune, which had already in its hands the police of the capital, and which considered itself as particularly charged with the custody of the King, proposed the Temple, and declared that it could not answer for his safe custody unless the tower of that ancient abbey were selected for his dwelling. The Assembly assented, and committed the custody of the illustrious prisoners to the mayor, and Santerre, the commandant-general, upon their personal responsibility. Twelve commissioners of the general council were to keep watch without interruption at the Temple. It had been converted by outworks into a kind of fortress. Numerous detachments of the national guard alternately formed the garrison, and no person was allowed to enter without permission from the municipality. The Assembly had decreed that five hundred thousand francs should be taken from the treasury for the maintenance of the royal family till the approaching meeting of the National Convention.

The functions of the commune were, as we see, very extensive. Placed in the centre of the State where the great powers are exercised, and impelled by its energy to do of its own accord whatever seemed to it to be too gently done by the high authorities, it was hurried into incessant encroachments. The Assembly, convinced of the necessity of keeping it within certain limits, ordered the re-election of a new departmental council, to succeed that which had been dissolved on the day of the insurrection. The commune, perceiving that it was

threatened with the yoke of a superior authority, which would probably restrain its flights as the former department had done, was incensed at this decree, and ordered the sections to suspend the election which had already commenced. Manuel, the *procureur syndic*, was immediately despatched from the Hôtel de Ville to the Feuillans, to present the remonstrances of the municipality.

"The delegates of the citizens of Paris," said he, "have need of unlimited powers. A new authority placed between them and you would only serve to sow the seeds of dissension. It is requisite that the people, in order to deliver themselves from that power destructive to their sovereignty, should once more arm themselves with their vengeance."

Such was the menacing language which men already had the hardihood to address to the Assembly. The latter complied with the demand; and whether it believed it to be impossible or imprudent to resist, or that it considered it to be dangerous to fetter at that moment the energy of the commune, it decided that the new council should have no authority over the municipality, and be nothing more than a commission of finance, charged with the superintendence of the public contributions in the department of the Seine.

Another more serious question engaged the public mind, and served to demonstrate more forcibly the difference of sentiment prevailing between the commune and the Assembly. The punishment of those who had fired upon the people, and who were ready to show themselves as soon as the enemy should draw near, was loudly demanded. They were called by turns "the conspirators of the 10th of August," and "the traitors." The court-martial appointed on the 11th to try the Swiss did not appear sufficient, because its powers were limited to the prosecution of the Swiss soldiers. The criminal tribunal of the Seine was thought to be fettered by too slow formalities, and besides, all the authorities anterior to the 10th of August were suspected. The commune therefore prayed the erection of a tribunal which should be empowered to take cognizance of the *crimes of the 10th of August*, and have sufficient latitude to reach all who were called the *traitors*. The Assembly referred the petition to the extraordinary commission appointed in the month of July to propose the means of safety.

On the 14th a fresh deputation of the commune was sent to the Legislative Body, to demand the decree relative to the extraordinary tribunal, declaring that as it was not yet passed they were directed to wait for it. Gaston, the deputy, addressed some severe observations to this deputation, which

withdrew. The Assembly persisted in refusing to create an extraordinary tribunal, and merely assigned to the established tribunals *the cognizance of the crimes of the 10th of August*.

At this intelligence violent agitation spread through Paris. The section of the Quinze-Vingts repaired to the general council of the commune, and intimated that the tocsin would be rung in the Faubourg St. Antoine if the decree applied for were not immediately passed. The general council then sent a fresh deputation, at the head of which was Robespierre. He spoke in the name of the municipality, and made the most insolent remonstrances to the deputies. "The tranquillity of the people," said he, "depends on the punishment of the guilty, and yet you have done nothing to reach them. Your decree is insufficient. It does not explain the nature and the extent of the crimes to be punished, for it specifies only the *crimes of the 10th of August*, and the crimes of the enemies of the Revolution extend far beyond the 10th of August and Paris. With such an expression the traitor Lafayette would escape the vengeance of the law. As for the form of the tribunal, the people can no longer tolerate that which you have retained. The twofold degree of jurisdiction causes numberless delays, and besides, all the old authorities are suspected; new ones are required; it is necessary that the tribunal demanded be composed of deputies taken from the sections, and that it be empowered to try the guilty, sovereignly, and without appeal."

This imperative petition appeared still more harsh from the tone of Robespierre. The Assembly answered the people of Paris in an address, in which it rejected any proposal for an extraordinary commission and *chambre ardente* as unworthy of liberty, and fit only for despotism.

These reasonable observations produced no effect. They served only to increase the irritation. Nothing was talked of in Paris but the tocsin; and the very next day a representative of the commune appeared at the bar, and said to the Assembly, "As a citizen, as a magistrate of the people, I come to inform you that at twelve o'clock this night the tocsin will be rung and the alarm beaten. The people are weary of not being avenged. Beware lest they do themselves justice. I demand," added the audacious petitioner, "that you forthwith decree that a citizen be appointed by each section to form a criminal tribunal."

This threatening apostrophe roused the Assembly, and particularly the deputies Choudieu and Thuriot, who warmly

reprimanded the envoy of the commune. A discussion, however, ensued, and the proposal of the commune, strongly supported by the hot-headed members of the Assembly, was at length converted into a decree. An electoral body was to assemble, to choose the members of an extraordinary tribunal destined to take cognizance of crimes committed on the 10th of August, and *other crimes and circumstances connected with it*. This tribunal, divided into two sections, was to pronounce sentence finally and without appeal. Such was the first essay of the revolutionary tribunal, and the first spur given by vengeance to the forms of justice. This tribunal was called the tribunal of the 17th of August.

The effect produced on the armies by the recent revolution, and the manner in which they had received the decrees of the 10th, were still unknown. This was the most important point, and the fate of the new revolution depended upon it. The frontier was still divided into three armies—the army of the North, the army of the centre, and the army of the South. Luckner commanded the first, Lafayette the second, and Montesquiou the third. Since the unfortunate affairs at Mons and Tournay, Luckner, urged by Dumouriez, had again attempted the offensive against the Netherlands, but had retreated, and in evacuating Courtray, had burned the suburbs, which was made a serious charge against the ministry the day before the dethronement. The armies had since remained in a state of complete inactivity, living in entrenched camps, and confining themselves to slight skirmishes. Dumouriez, after resigning the ministry, had gone as lieutenant-general under Luckner, and been unfavourably received by the army, where the spirit of Lafayette's party predominated. Luckner, wholly under this influence for a moment, sent Dumouriez to one of these camps, that of Maulde, and there left him, with a small number of troops, to amuse himself with entrenchments and skirmishes.

Lafayette, wishing, amidst the dangers that encompassed the King, to be nearer to Paris, had been desirous of taking the command of the North. He was nevertheless unwilling to quit his troops, by whom he was greatly beloved, and he agreed with Luckner to change positions, each with his division, and to decamp, the one for the North, the other for the centre. This operation in the presence of an enemy might have been attended with danger, if, very luckily, the war had not been so completely inactive. Luckner had therefore repaired to Metz, and Lafayette to Sedan. During this cross movement, Dumouriez, who was directed to follow with his

little corps the army of Luckner, to which he belonged, halted suddenly in presence of the enemy, who had threatened to attack him; and he was obliged to remain in his camp lest he should lay open the entry to Flanders to the Duke of Saxe-Teschén. He assembled the other generals who occupied separate camps near him; he concerted with Dillon,* who came up with a portion of Lafayette's army, and insisted on a council of war at Valenciennes, for the purpose of justifying, by the necessity of the case, his disobedience to Luckner. Meanwhile Luckner had arrived at Metz, and Lafayette at Sedan; and but for the events of the 10th of August, Dumouriez would probably have been put under arrest, and brought to a military trial for his refusal to advance.

Such was the situation of the armies when they received tidings of the overthrow of the throne. The first point to which the Legislative Assembly turned its attention was, as we have seen, to send three commissioners to carry its decrees, and to make the troops take the new oath. The three commissioners on their arrival at Sedan were received by the municipality, which had orders from Lafayette to cause them to be apprehended. The mayor questioned them concerning the scene of the 10th of August, required an account of all the circumstances, and declared, agreeably to the secret instructions which he had received from Lafayette, that evidently the Legislative Assembly was no longer free when it decreed the suspension of the King; that its commissioners were but the envoys of a factious cabal; and that they should be put in confinement in the name of the constitution. They were actually imprisoned, and Lafayette, to exonerate those who executed his order, took upon himself the sole responsibility. Immediately afterwards he caused his army to take anew the oath of fidelity to the law and to the King, and ordered the same to be done by all the corps under his command. He reckoned upon seventy-five departments, which had adhered to his letter of the 16th of June, and he purposed to attempt a contrary movement to that of the 10th of August. Dillon, who was at Valenciennes, under the orders of Lafayette, and who held a superior command to Dumouriez, obeyed his general-in-chief, caused the oath of fidelity to the law and to the King to be taken, and enjoined Dumouriez to do the same in his camp at Maulde. Dumouriez, judging more correctly of the future, and exasperated, moreover, against the Feuillans, under whose control

* See Appendix B.

he was, seized the occasion to resist them, and to ingratiate himself with the new government, by refusing either to take the oath himself, or to allow it to be taken by his troops.

On the 17th, the very day on which the new tribunal was so simultaneously established, a letter arrived, stating that the commissioners sent to the army of Lafayette had been apprehended by his orders, and that the legislative authority was denied. This intelligence produced more irritation than alarm. The outcry against Lafayette was more vehement than ever. His accusation was demanded, and the Assembly was reproached with not having ordered it before. A decree was instantly passed against the department of the Ardennes; fresh commissioners were despatched with the same powers as their predecessors, and with directions to cause the three prisoners to be liberated. Other commissioners were sent to Dillon's army. On the morning of the 19th the Assembly declared Lafayette a traitor to the country, and passed a decree of accusation against him.

The circumstance was serious, and if this resistance were not overcome, the new revolution would prove abortive. France, divided between the republicans in the interior and the constitutionalists of the army, would be exposed to invasion and to a terrible reaction. Lafayette could not but detest in the revolution of the 10th of August the abolition of the constitution of 1791, the accomplishment of all his aristocratic prophecies, and the justification of all the reproaches which the Court addressed to liberty. In this victory of democracy he must have beheld nothing but a sanguinary anarchy and an endless confusion. For us this confusion has had an end, and our soil at least has been defended against foreigners; but to Lafayette the future was unknown and alarming: the defence of the soil was scarcely to be presumed amidst political convulsions; and he could not but feel a desire to withstand this chaos by arming himself against the two foes within and without. But his position was beset with difficulties which it would have been beyond the power of any man to surmount. His army was devoted to him; but armies have no personal will, and cannot have any but what is communicated to them by the superior authority. When a revolution bursts forth with the violence of that of 1789, then, hurried blindly on, they desert the old authority, because the new impulse is the stronger of the two. But this was not the case in this instance. Lafayette, proscribed, stricken by a decree, could not by his mere military popularity excite his troops against the authority of the interior, and by his personal energy counteract the

revolutionary energy of Paris. Placed between two enemies, and uncertain respecting his duty, he could not but hesitate. The Assembly, on the contrary, not hesitating, sending decree after decree, and supporting each by energetic commissioners, could not fail to triumph over the hesitation of the general, and to decide the army. Accordingly the troops of Lafayette were successively shaken, and appeared to be forsaking him. The civil authorities, being intimidated, yielded to the new commissioners. The example of Dumouriez, who declared himself in favour of the revolution of the 10th of August, completed the defection; and the opposing general was left alone with his staff, composed of Feuillans or constitutional officers.

Bouillé, whose energy was not doubtful, Dumouriez, whose great talents could not be disputed, could not do otherwise at different periods, and were obliged to betake themselves to flight. Lafayette was destined to be equally unfortunate. Writing to the different civil authorities which had seconded him in his resistance, he took upon himself the responsibility of the orders issued against the commissioners of the Assembly, and left his camp on the 20th of August, with a few officers, his friends and his companions in arms and in opinion. He was accompanied by Bureaux de Pusy, Latour-Maubourg, and Lameth. They quitted the camp, taking with them only a month's pay, and were followed by a few servants. Lafayette left everything in order in his army, and had taken care to make the necessary dispositions in case of attack. He sent back some horse who attended him, that he might not rob France of one of her defenders; and on the 21st he and his friends took the road to the Netherlands. On reaching the Austrian advanced posts, after a journey which had exhausted their horses, these first emigrants of liberty were arrested, contrary to the right of nations, and treated as prisoners of war. Great was the joy when the name of Lafayette rang in the camp of the allies, and it was known that he was a captive to the aristocratic league. To torment one of the first friends of the Revolution, to have a pretext for imputing to the Revolution itself the persecution of its first authors, and to behold the fulfilment of all its predicted excesses, diffused general satisfaction among the European aristocracy.*

* "Lafayette was under the necessity of observing the greatest secrecy in his departure, in order to avoid increasing the number of his companions in exile, who consisted only of Latour-Maubourg and his two brothers, Bureaux de Pusy, his aides-de-camp, and staff officers in the Parisian national guard, and some friends, exposed to certain death in consequence of their participation in his last efforts against anarchy. Fifteen officers of different ranks accompanied him,

Lafayette claimed for himself and his friends that liberty which was their right, but to no purpose. He was offered it on condition of recanting, not all his opinions, but only one of them—that relative to the abolition of nobility. He refused, threatening even, in case his words should be falsely interpreted, to give a formal contradiction before a public officer. He therefore accepted fetters as the price of his constancy; and even when he looked upon liberty as lost in Europe and in France, his mind continued unshaken, and he never ceased to consider freedom as the most valuable of blessings. This he still professed, both towards the oppressors who detained him in their dungeons, and towards his old friends who remained in France.* “Continue,” he wrote to the latter, “continue to love liberty, in spite of its storms, and serve your country.” Let us compare this defection with that of Bouillé, quitting his country to return with the hostile sovereigns; with that of Dumouriez, quarrelling, not from conviction but from spite, with the Convention which he had served; and we shall do justice to the man who did not leave France till the truth in which he believed was proscribed there, and who went neither to curse nor to disavow it in the enemy’s armies, but still continued to profess and maintain it in dungeons.

Let us not, however, cast too severe censure on Dumouriez, whose memorable services we shall soon have occasion to appreciate. This flexible and clever man had a just presentiment of the nascent power. After he had made himself almost independent by his refusal to obey Luckner, and to leave his camp at Maulde, after he had refused to take the oath ordered by Dillon, he was immediately recompensed for his attachment by the chief command of the armies of the North and the

On arriving at Rochefort, where the party (considerably reduced in number) were stopped, Bureaux de Pusy was compelled to go forward and obtain a pass from General Moitelle, in command at Namur. He set out accordingly; but before he could utter a syllable of explanation, that general exclaimed, ‘What, Lafayette? Lafayette? Run instantly and inform the Duc de Bourbon of it. Lafayette? Set out this moment,’ addressing one of his officers, ‘and carry this news to his royal highness at Brussels;’ and on he went, muttering to himself the word ‘Lafayette.’ It was not until he had given orders to write to all the princes and generals he could think of, that Pusy could put in his request for a pass, which was of course refused.”—*Lafayette’s Memoirs*.

* “However irritated they might be by Lafayette’s behaviour at the outset of the Revolution, the present conduct of the monarchs towards him was neither to be vindicated by morality, the law of nations, nor the rules of sound policy. Even if he had been amenable for a crime against his own country, we know not what right Austria or Prussia had to take cognizance of it. To them he was a mere prisoner of war, and nothing further. It is very seldom that a petty, vindictive line of policy accords with the real interest either of great princes or of private individuals.”—*Scott’s Life of Napoleon*.

centre. Dillon, brave, impetuous, but blind, was at first displaced for having obeyed Lafayette; but he was reinstated in his command through the influence of Dumouriez, who, anxious to reach his goal, and to injure as few persons as possible in his progress, became his warm advocate with the commissioners of the Assembly. Dumouriez therefore found himself general-in-chief of the whole frontier from Metz to Dunkirk. Luckner was at Metz, with his army, formerly the army of the North. Swayed at first by Lafayette, he had shown resistance to the 10th of August; but soon giving way to his army and to the commissioners of the Assembly, he acquiesced in the decrees, and after once more weeping, he yielded to the new impulse that was communicated to him.

The 10th of August and the advance of the season were motives sufficient to decide the coalition at length to push the war with vigour. The dispositions of the powers in regard to France were not changed. England, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland still promised a strict neutrality. Sweden, since the death of Gustavus, had sincerely adopted a similar course. The Italian principalities were most inimical to us, but fortunately quite impotent. Spain had not yet spoken out, but continued to be distracted by conflicting intrigues. Thus there were left, as decided enemies, Russia and the two principal Courts of Germany. But Russia as yet went no further than unfriendly demonstrations, and confined herself to sending away our ambassador. Prussia and Austria alone carried their arms to our frontiers. Among the German States there were but the three ecclesiastical electors, and the landgraves of the two Hesses, that had taken an active part in the coalition. The others waited till they should be compelled to do so. In this state of things one hundred and thirty-eight thousand men, excellently organized and disciplined, threatened France, which could oppose to them at the utmost but one hundred and twenty thousand, spread over an immense frontier, not forming a sufficient mass at any point, deprived of their officers, feeling no confidence in themselves or their leaders, and having as yet experienced nothing but checks in the war of posts which they had maintained.

The plan of the coalition was to invade France boldly, penetrating by the Ardennes, and proceeding by Châlons towards Paris. The two sovereigns of Prussia and Austria had repaired in person to Mayence. Sixty thousand Prussians, heirs to the traditions and the glory of the great Frederick, advanced in a single column upon our centre. They marched by Luxembourg upon Longwy. Twenty thousand Austrians, commanded

by General Clairfayt, supported them on the right by occupying Stenay. Sixteen thousand Austrians commanded by the Prince of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, and ten thousand Hessians, flanked the left of the Prussians. The Duke of Saxe-Teschen occupied the Netherlands and threatened the fortresses. The Prince de Condé, with six thousand French emigrants, had proceeded towards Philipsbourg. Several other corps of emigrants were attached to the different Prussian and Austrian armies. The Foreign Courts which, in collecting the emigrants, were still desirous to prevent their acquiring too much influence, had at first intended to blend them with the German regiments, but had at length consented to suffer them to form distinct corps, yet distributed among the allied armies. These corps were full of officers who had condescended to become privates, and they formed a brilliant body of cavalry, which, however, was more capable of displaying great valour on the day of peril than of supporting a long campaign.

The French armies were disposed in the most unsuitable manner for withstanding such a mass of forces. Three generals, Beurnonville, Moreton, and Duval, commanded a total of thirty thousand men in three separate camps, Maulde, Maubeuge, and Lille. These were the whole of the French resources on the frontier of the North and of the Low Countries. Lafayette's army, twenty-three thousand strong, disorganized by the departure of its general, and weakened by the utmost uncertainty of sentiment, was encamped at Sedan. Dumouriez was going to take the command of it. Luckner's army, composed of twenty thousand men, occupied Metz, and like all the others, had just had a new general given to it, namely, Kellermann.* The Assembly, dissatisfied with Luckner, had nevertheless resolved not to dismiss him; but whilst transferring his command to Kellermann, it had assigned to him, with the title of generalissimo, the duty of organizing the new army of reserve, and the purely honorary function of counseling the generals. There remain to be mentioned Custine, who with fifteen thousand men occupied Landau, and lastly, Biron, who, posted in Alsace with thirty thousand men, was too far from the principal theatre of the war to influence the issue of the campaign.

The only two corps placed on the track pursued by the grand army of the allies were the twenty-three thousand men forsaken by Lafayette, and Kellermann's twenty thousand stationed around Metz. If the grand invading army, con-

* See Appendix C.

forming its movements to its object, had marched rapidly upon Sedan, while the troops of Lafayette, deprived of their general, were a prey to disorder, and not having yet been joined by Dumouriez, were without unity and without direction, the principal defensive corps would have been overwhelmed, the Ardennes would have been opened, and the other generals would have been obliged to fall back rapidly for the purpose of concentrating themselves behind the Marne. Perhaps they would not have had time to come from Lille and Metz to Châlons and Rheims. In this case Paris would have been uncovered, and the new government would have had nothing left but the absurd scheme of a camp below Paris, or flight beyond the Loire.

But if France defended herself with all the disorder of a revolution, the foreign powers attacked with all the uncertainty and discordance of views that characterize a coalition. The King of Prussia, intoxicated with the idea of an easy conquest, flattered and deceived by the emigrants, who represented the invasion to him as a mere *military promenade*, wished it to be conducted with the boldest expedition. But there was still too much prudence at his side, in the Duke of Brunswick, to allow his presumption to have at least the happy effect of audacity and promptness. The Duke of Brunswick, who saw that the season was far advanced, the country very differently disposed from what the emigrants had represented, who moreover judged of the revolutionary energy by the insurrection of the 10th of August, thought that it would be better to secure a solid base of operations on the Moselle by laying siege to Metz and Thionville, and deferring till the next spring the recommencement of the war with the advantage of the preceding conquests. This struggle between the precipitancy of the sovereign and the prudence of the general, and the tardiness of the Austrians, who sent under the command of Prince Hohenlohe but eighteen thousand men instead of fifty, prevented any decisive movement. The Prussian army, however, continued to march towards the centre, and was on the 20th before Longwy, one of the most advanced fortresses of that frontier.

Dumouriez, who had always been of opinion that an invasion of the Netherlands would cause a revolution to break out there, and that this diversion would save France from the attacks of Germany, had made every preparation for advancing ever since the day on which he received his commission as general-in-chief of the two armies. He was already on the point of taking the offensive against the Prince of Saxe-

Teschen, when Westermann, who had been so active on the 10th of August, and was afterwards sent as commissioner to the army of Lafayette, came to inform him of what was passing on the theatre of the great invasion. On the 22nd, Longwy had opened its gates to the Prussians, after a bombardment of a few hours, in consequence of the disorder of the garrison and the weakness of the commandant. Elated with this conquest and the capture of Lafayette, the Prussians were more favourably disposed than ever towards the plan of a prompt offensive. The army of Lafayette would be undone if the new general did not go to inspire it with confidence by his presence, and to direct its movements in a useful manner.

Dumouriez therefore relinquished his favourite plan, and repaired on the 25th or 26th to Sedan, where his presence at first excited nothing but animosity and reproaches among the troops. He was the enemy of Lafayette, who was still beloved by them. He was, moreover, supposed to be the author of that unhappy war, because it had been declared during his administration. Lastly, he was considered as a man possessing much greater skill in the use of the pen than of the sword. This language was in the mouths of all the soldiers, and frequently reached the ear of the general. He was not disconcerted by it. He began by cheering the troops, by affecting a firm and tranquil countenance, and soon made them aware of the influence of a more vigorous command.* Still the situation of twenty-three thousand disorganized men in presence of eighty thousand in a state of the highest discipline was most discouraging. The Prussians, after taking Longwy, had blockaded Thionville, and were advancing upon Verdun, which was much less capable of resistance than the fortress of Longwy.

The generals, called together by Dumouriez, were all of opinion that they ought not to wait for the Prussians at Sedan, but to retire rapidly behind the Marne, to entrench themselves there in the best manner possible, to wait for the junction of the other armies, and thus cover the capital, which would be but forty leagues distant from the enemy. They all thought that if they should suffer a defeat in attempting to resist the invasion, the overthrow would be complete, that the discomfited army would not stop between Sedan and Paris, and that the Prussians would march directly thither at a conqueror's

* "Dumouriez, who up to this time had played but a subordinate military part, very much surpassed any expectations that could have been formed of him. He displayed a great deal of talent and enlarged views; and for some little time his patriotism was estimated by his success."—*Lafayette's Memoirs*.

pace. Such was our military situation, and the opinion which our generals entertained of it.

The notions formed at Paris on the subject were not more favourable, and the irritation increased with the danger. Meanwhile that immense capital, which had never seen an enemy in its bosom, and which formed an idea of its strength proportionate to its extent and its population, could scarcely conceive it possible for a foe to penetrate within its walls. It had much less dread of the military peril, which it did not perceive, and which was still at a distance from it, than the peril of a reaction on the part of the royalists, who were quelled for the moment. Whilst on the frontiers the generals saw nothing but the Prussians; in the interior, people saw nothing but the aristocrats secretly conspiring to destroy liberty. They said that, to be sure, the King was a prisoner, but his party nevertheless existed, and that it was conspiring, as before the 10th of August, to open Paris to the foreigners. They figured to themselves all the great houses in the capital filled with armed assemblages ready to sally forth at the first signal, to deliver Louis XVI., to seize the chief authority, and to consign France, without defence, to the sword of the emigrants and of the allies. This correspondence between the *internal* and the *external* enemy engrossed all minds. It behoves us, it was said, to rid ourselves of *traitors*; and already the horrible idea of sacrificing the vanquished was conceived—an idea which with the majority was only a movement of imagination, but which by some few only, either more blood-thirsty, more hot-headed, or more powerfully impelled to action, could be converted into a real and meditated plan.

We have already seen that it was proposed to avenge the people for the blows inflicted upon them on the 10th, and that a violent quarrel had arisen between the Assembly and the commune on the subject of the extraordinary tribunal. This tribunal, to which Dangremont, and the unfortunate Laporte, intendant of the civil list, had already fallen victims, did not act with sufficient despatch according to the notions of a furious and heated populace, who beheld enemies on every side. It demanded forms more expeditious for punishing *traitors*, and above all, it insisted on the trial of the persons transferred to the high court at Orleans. These were, for the most part, ministers and high functionaries accused, as we have seen, of malversation. Delessart, minister for foreign affairs, was among the number. Outcries were raised on all sides against the tardiness of the proceedings: the removal of the prisoners to Paris, and their immediate trial by the

tribunal of the 17th of August, were required. The Assembly being consulted on this point, or rather summoned to comply with the general wish, and to pass a decree for the transfer, had made a courageous resistance. The high national court was, it alleged, a constitutional establishment, which it could not change, because it did not possess the constituent powers, and because it was the right of every accused person to be tried only according to anterior laws. This question had been raised afresh by hosts of petitioners; and the Assembly had at once to resist an ardent minority, the commune, and the tumultuous sections. It had merely accelerated some of the formalities of the proceedings, but decreed that the persons accused before the high court should remain at Orleans, and not be withdrawn from the jurisdiction which the constitution had ensured to them.

Thus, then, two opinions were formed: one which held that it was right to spare the vanquished without exerting less energy against foreigners; the other, which insisted that all secret enemies ought to be sacrificed before people went to meet the armed enemies who were advancing towards Paris. This latter was not so much an opinion as a blind and ferocious sentiment, compounded of fear and rage, and which was destined to increase with the danger.

The Parisians were the more irritated the greater was the peril for their city—the focus of all the insurrections, and the principal goal to which the march of the hostile armies tended. They accused the Assembly, composed of deputies of the departments, of an intention to retire to the provinces. The Girondins, in particular, who chiefly belonged to the provinces of the South, and formed that moderate majority which was odious to the commune, were accused of a wish to sacrifice the capital, out of hatred to it. In this instance a sentiment was attributed to them which they would have been justified in harbouring. But the greater number of them loved their country and their cause too sincerely to think of leaving Paris. They had, it is true, always been of opinion that if the North were lost, they could fall back upon the South; and at this very moment some of them deemed it prudent to remove the seat of government to the other side of the Loire; but no such desire as to sacrifice a hated city, and to transfer the government to places where they would be its masters, ever entered their hearts. They were too high-minded, they were, moreover, still too powerful, and they reckoned too much on the meeting of the approaching Convention, to think so soon of forsaking Paris.

Thus they were charged at once with indulgence towards

traitors, and with indifference to the interests of the capital. Having to contend with the most violent men, they could do nothing, even though they had numbers and reason on their side, but succumb to the activity and the energy of their adversaries. In the executive council they were five to one, for besides the three ministers, Servan, Clavières, and Roland, selected from among them, the last two, Monge and Lebrun, were likewise of their choice. But Danton, who, without being their personal enemy, had neither their moderation nor their opinions—Danton * singly swayed the council, and deprived them of all influence. While Clavières was striving to collect some financial resources, Servan bestirring himself to procure reinforcements for the generals, and Roland despatching the most discreet circulars to enlighten the provinces, to direct the local authorities, to prevent their encroachments on power, and to check violence of every kind, Danton was busily engaged in placing all his creatures in the administration. He sent his faithful Cordeliers to all parts, and thus attached to himself numerous supporters, and procured for his friends a share in the profits of the Revolution. Influencing or alarming his colleagues, he found no obstacle but in the inflexible principles of Roland, who frequently refused assent to the measures or subjects which he proposed. Danton was vexed at this, though he did not break with Roland, and he strove to carry as many appointments or decisions as he possibly could.

Danton, whose real sway was in Paris, was anxious to retain it, and fully determined to prevent any removal beyond the Loire. Endued with extraordinary boldness, having proclaimed the insurrection on the night preceding the 10th of August, when every one else still hesitated, he was not a man to recede, and he thought that it behoved him and his colleagues to sacrifice themselves in the capital. Master of the council, connected with Marat and the committee of *surveillance* of the commune, haranguing in all the clubs, living, in short, amidst the mob as in an element which he agitated at pleasure, Danton was the most powerful man in Paris; and that power, founded on a violent disposition, which brought him into contact with the passions of the people, could not but be formidable to the vanquished. In his revolutionary ardour Danton

* "Roland and Clavières formed a sort of party in the council, and were supported by Brissot and the Bordeaux members in the Assembly, and by Petion and Manuel in the municipality. Servan, Monge, and Lebrun dared not have an opinion of their own. But the man among them who struck the greatest terror—the man who, with a frown or a single glance of his scowling eye, made all his colleagues tremble—was Danton, minister in the law department. Terror was the weapon he employed."—*Peltier*.

inclined to all the ideas of vengeance which the Girondins repelled. He was the leader of that Parisian party which said of itself, "We will not recede. We will perish in the capital and beneath its ruins, but our enemies shall perish before us." Thus were horrible sentiments engendered in minds, and horrible scenes were soon to be their frightful consequences.

On the 26th the tidings of the capture of Longwy spread with rapidity, and caused a general agitation in Paris. People disputed all day on its probability; at length it could be no longer contested, and it became known that the place had opened its gates after a bombardment of a few hours. The ferment excited was such that the Assembly decreed the penalty of death against any one who should propose to surrender in a besieged place. On the demand of the commune it was decreed that Paris and the neighbouring departments should furnish within a few days thirty thousand men armed and equipped. The prevailing enthusiasm rendered it easy to raise this number, and the number served to dispel the apprehensions of danger. It was impossible to suppose that one hundred thousand Prussians could subdue several millions of men who were determined to defend themselves. The works at the camp near Paris were carried on with renewed activity, and the women assembled in the churches to assist in preparing necessities for the encampment.

Danton repaired to the commune, and at his suggestion recourse was had to extreme means. It was resolved to make a list of all the indigent persons in the sections, and to give them pay and arms. It was, moreover, determined to disarm and apprehend all suspicious persons; and all who had signed the petition against the 20th of June, and against the decree for the camp below Paris, were reputed such. In order to effect this disarming and apprehension, the plan of domiciliary visits was conceived and executed in the most frightful manner.*

* "Let the reader fancy to himself a vast metropolis, the streets of which were a few days before alive with the concourse of carriages, and with citizens constantly passing and repassing—let him fancy to himself, I say, streets, so populous and so animated, suddenly struck with the dead silence of the grave, before sunset, on a fine summer evening. All the shops are shut; everybody retires into the interior of his house, trembling for life and property; all are in fearful expectation of the events of a night in which even the efforts of despair are not likely to afford the least resource to any individual. The sole object of the domiciliary visits, it is pretended, is to search for arms, yet the barriers are shut and guarded with the strictest vigilance, and boats are stationed on the river, at regular distances, filled with armed men. Every one supposes himself to be informed against. Everywhere persons and property are put into concealment. Everywhere are heard the interrupted sounds of the muffled hammer, with cautious knock completing the hiding-place. Roofs, garrets, sinks, chimneys—all are just the same to fear, incapable of calculating any risk. One

The barriers were to be closed for forty-eight hours, from the evening of the 29th, and no permission to leave the city upon any account whatever was to be granted. Guard-ships were stationed on the river to prevent any escape by that outlet. The surrounding communes were directed to stop every person they should find in the fields or on the roads. The drum was to announce the visits, and at this signal every person was required to repair to his home upon pain of being treated as one suspected of seditiously assembling if found in the house of another. For this reason all the sectional assemblies and the great tribunal itself were to suspend their meetings for those two days. Commissioners of the commune, assisted by the armed force, were empowered to pay these visits, to seize arms, and to apprehend suspected persons, that is to say, the signers of all the petitions already mentioned, the nonjuring priests, such citizens as should be guilty of falsehood in their declarations, those against whom there were denunciations, &c. At ten o'clock in the evening the streets were to be cleared of all carriages, and the city was to be illuminated during the whole night.

Such were the measures adopted for the purpose of apprehending, it was said, *the bad citizens who had concealed themselves since the 10th of August*. These visits were begun on the evening of the 29th, and any one, incurring the denunciation of another, was liable to be thrown into the prisons. All who had belonged to the late Court, either by office, or by rank, or by attendance at the palace—all who had declared themselves in its favour during the various royalist movements—all who had base enemies, capable of revenging themselves by a denunciation, were consigned to the prisons, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand persons! It was the committee of *surveillance* of the commune which superintended these apprehensions, and caused them to be executed before its eyes. Those who were apprehended were first taken from their abode to the committee of their section, and from this committee to

man, squeezed up behind the wainscot which has been nailed back on him, seems to form a part of the wall; another is suffocated with fear and heat between two mattresses; a third, rolled up in a cask, loses all sense of existence by the tension of his sinews. Apprehension is stronger than pain. Men tremble, but they do not shed tears; the heart shivers, the eye is dull, and the breast contracted. Women on this occasion display prodigies of tenderness and intrepidity. It was by them that most of the men were concealed. It was one o'clock in the morning when the domiciliary visits began. Patrols, consisting of sixty pikemen, were in every street. The nocturnal tumult of so many armed men; the incessant knocks to make people open their doors; the crash of those that were burst off their hinges; and the continual uproar and revelling which took place throughout the night in all the public-houses, formed a picture which will never be effaced from my memory."—*Peltier*.

that of the commune. There they were briefly questioned respecting their sentiments and the acts which proved their greater or less energy. They were frequently examined by a single member of the committee, while the other members, exhausted with watching for several successive days and nights, were sleeping upon the chairs or the tables. The persons apprehended were at first carried to the Hôtel de Ville, and afterwards distributed among the different prisons in which any room was left. Here were confined all the advocates of those various opinions which had succeeded one another till the 10th of August, all the ranks which had been overthrown, and plain tradesmen, who were already deemed as great aristocrats as dukes and princes.

Terror pervaded all Paris. It prevailed alike among the republicans, threatened by the Prussian armies, and among the royalists, threatened by the republicans. The committee of *general defence*, appointed by the Assembly to consider the means of resisting the enemy, met on the 30th, and solicited the attendance of the executive council, for the purpose of deliberating with it on the means of the public welfare. The meeting was numerous, because the members of the committee were joined by a multitude of deputies who wished to be present at this sitting. Various plans were suggested. Servan, the minister, had no confidence in the armies, and did not think it possible for Dumouriez to stop the Prussians with the twenty-three thousand men left him by Lafayette. He conceived that between them and Paris there was no position of sufficient strength to make head against them and to check their march. All coincided with him on this point, and after it had been proposed that the whole population in arms should be collected under the walls of Paris, in order to combat there with desperation, it was suggested that the Assembly should retire in case of emergency to Saumur, to place a wider space and fresh obstacles between the enemy and the depositaries of the national sovereignty. Vergniaud and Guadet opposed the idea of quitting Paris. They were followed by Danton.

"It is proposed," said he, "that you should quit Paris. You are well aware that in the opinion of the enemy Paris represents France, and that to cede this point is to abandon the Revolution to them. If we give way we are undone. We must therefore maintain our ground by all possible means, and save ourselves by audacity.

"Among the means proposed none seems to me decisive. We must not disguise from ourselves the situation in which we are placed by the 10th of August. It has divided us into

royalists and republicans. The former are very numerous, the latter far from it. In this state of weakness we republicans are exposed to two fires—that of the enemy placed without, and that of the royalists placed within. There is a royal directory, which holds secret meetings at Paris, and corresponds with the Prussian army. To tell you where it assembles, and of whom it is composed, is not in the power of the ministers. But to disconcert it, and to prevent its baneful correspondence with foreigners, *we must—we must strike terror into the royalists.*”

At these words, accompanied by a gesture betokening extermination, horror overspread every face.

“I tell you,” resumed Danton, “you must strike terror into the royalists. . . . It is in Paris, above all, that it behoves you to stand your ground, and it is not by wasting yourselves in uncertain combats that you will succeed in doing so.” A stupor instantly pervaded the Assembly. Not a word more was added to this speech, and every one retired, without foreseeing precisely, without daring even to penetrate, the measures contemplated by the minister.

He repaired immediately to the committee of *surveillance* of the commune, which disposed with sovereign authority of the persons of all the citizens, and over which Marat reigned. The blind and ignorant colleagues of Marat were Panis and Sergeant, already conspicuous on the 20th of June and the 10th of August, and four others, named Jourdeuil, Duplain, Lefort, and Lenfant. There, in the night between the 30th and the 31st of August, horrible plans were meditated against the unfortunate persons confined in the prisons of Paris. Deplorable and dreadful instance of political excitement! Danton, who was known never to harbour hatred against personal enemies, and to be frequently accessible to pity, lent his audacity to the atrocious reveries of Marat. They two hatched a plot of which several centuries have furnished examples, but which at the conclusion of the eighteenth cannot be explained by the ignorance of the times and the ferocity of manners. We have seen three years before this a man named Maillard* figuring at the head of the female insurgents on the famous days of the 5th and 6th of October. This Maillard, who had been usher to a court of justice, an intelligent but bloodthirsty man, had formed a band of low desperadoes fit for any enterprise—such, in short, as are to be found in those classes where education has not purified the passions by enlightening the understanding. He was known as the leader of this band,

* See Appendix D.

and if we may credit a recent revelation, he received notice to hold himself in readiness to act upon the first signal, to place himself where he could strike with effect and certainty, to prepare bludgeons, to take precautions for preventing the cries of the victims, to procure vinegar, holly brooms, quicklime, covered carts, &c.

From that moment vague rumours of a terrible execution were circulated. The relatives of the prisoners were upon the rack; and the plot, like that of the 10th of August, the 20th of June, and all the others, was foreshown by portentous signs. On all sides it was repeated that it was requisite to overawe by a signal example the conspirators who, in the recesses of the prisons, were corresponding with foreigners. People complained of the tardiness of the tribunal instituted to punish the culprits of the 10th of August, and with loud cries demanded speedy justice. On the 31st, Montmorin, the late minister, was acquitted by the tribunal of the 17th of August, and reports were spread that there was treachery everywhere, and that impunity was ensured to the guilty. On the same day it was alleged that a condemned person had made some revelations, the purport of which was that in the night the prisoners were to break out of the dungeons, to arm and disperse themselves through the city, to wreak horrible vengeance upon it, and then to carry off the King, and throw open Paris to the Prussians. The prisoners who were thus accused were meanwhile trembling for their lives; their relatives were in deep consternation; and the royal family expected nothing but death in the tower of the Temple.

At the Jacobins, in the sections, in the council of the commune, in the minority of the Assembly, were great numbers of persons who believed these pretended plots, and dared to declare it lawful to exterminate the prisoners. Assuredly Nature does not form so many monsters for a single day, and it is party spirit alone that leads astray so many men at once! Sad lesson for nations! People believe in dangers; they persuade themselves that they ought to repel them; they repeat this; they work themselves up into a frenzy; and while some proclaim with levity that a blow must be struck, others strike with sanguinary audacity.

On Saturday the 1st of September, the forty-eight hours fixed for the closing of the barriers and the execution of the domiciliary visits having elapsed, the communications were re-established. But in the course of the day all at once a rumour of the taking of Verdun was circulated. Verdun, however, was only invested; still it was believed that the place was

captured, and that a fresh treachery had delivered it up like the fortress of Longwy. Under the influence of Danton, the commune immediately resolved that on the following day, September the 2nd, the *générale* should be beaten, the tocsin rung, and alarm guns fired, and that all the disposable citizens should repair armed to the Champ de Mars, encamp there for the remainder of the day, and set out on the next for Verdun. From these terrible preparations it became evident that something very different from a levy *en masse* was contemplated. Relatives hastened to make efforts to obtain the enlargement of the prisoners. Manuel, the *procureur syndic*, at the solicitation of a generous woman, liberated, it is said, two female prisoners of the family of Latrémouille. Another lady, Madame Fausse-Lendry, importunately solicited permission to accompany her uncle, the Abbé de Rastignac, in his captivity. "You are very imprudent," replied Sergent; "*the prisons are not safe.*"

Next day, the 2nd of September, was Sunday, and the suspension of labour increased the popular tumult. Numerous assemblages were formed in different places, and a report was spread that the enemy was likely to be at Paris in three days. The commune informed the Assembly of the measures which it had taken for the levy *en masse* of the citizens. Vergniaud, fired with patriotic enthusiasm, immediately rose, complimented the Parisians on their courage, and praised them for having converted the zeal for motions into a more active and useful zeal—the zeal for combat. "It appears," added he, "that the plan of the enemy is to march direct to the capital, leaving the fortresses behind him. Let him do so. This course will be our salvation and his ruin. Our armies, too weak to withstand him, will be strong enough to harass him in the rear; and when he arrives, pursued by our battalions, he will find himself face to face with our Parisian army, drawn up in battle array under the walls of the capital; and there, surrounded on all sides, he will be swallowed up by that soil which he had profaned. But amidst these flattering hopes there is a danger which ought not to be disguised—that of panic terrors. Our enemies reckon upon them, and distribute gold in order to produce them; and well you know it, there are men made up of so soft a clay as to be decomposed at the idea of the least danger. I wish we could pick out this species without souls but with human faces, and collect all the individuals belonging to it in one town, Longwy, for instance, which should be called the town of cowards: and there, objects of general contempt, they could communicate their own fears to their fellow-citizens

alone ; they would no longer cause dwarfs to be mistaken for giants, and the dust flying before a company of Mûlans for armed battalions.

“Parisians, it is high time to display all your energy! Why are not the entrenchments of the camp more advanced? Where are the pickaxes, the spades, which raised the altar of the Federation, and levelled the Champ de Mars? You have manifested great ardour for festivities: surely you will not show less for battle. You have sung—you have celebrated liberty. You must now defend it. We have no longer to overthrow kings of bronze, but living kings, armed with all their power. I move, therefore, that the National Assembly set the first example, and send twelve commissioners, not to make exhortations, but to labour themselves, to wield the spade with their own hands, in the sight of all the citizens.” This suggestion was adopted with the utmost enthusiasm.

Danton followed Vergniaud. He communicated the measures which had been taken, and proposed new ones. “One portion of the people,” said he, “is about to proceed to the frontiers, another is going to throw up entrenchments, and the third, with pikes, will defend the interior of our cities. But this is not enough. Commissioners and couriers must be sent forth to all parts to induce the whole of France to imitate Paris. A decree must be passed which shall make it obligatory on every citizen to serve in person, or to give up his arms. ‘The gun,’” added Danton, “which you will presently hear, is not the alarm gun: it is the charge against the enemies of the country. What need we in order to conquer—to annihilate them? *Courage! again courage, and nothing but courage!*”

The words and gestures of the minister made a profound impression on all present. His motion was adopted. He retired and went to the committee of *surveillance*. All the authorities, all the bodies, the Assembly, the commune, the sections, the Jacobins, were sitting. The ministers, who had met at the hotel of the marine, were waiting for Danton to hold a council. The whole city was in motion. Profound terror pervaded the prisons. At the Temple, the royal family, to which any commotion threatened more serious consequences than to the other prisoners, anxiously inquired the cause of all this perturbation. The gaolers at the different prisons betrayed alarm. The keeper of the Abbaye had sent away his wife and children in the morning. The prisoners’ dinner had been served up two hours before the usual time, and all the knives had been taken away from their napkins. Struck by these circumstances, they had earnestly inquired the cause of their

keepers, who would not give any explanation, At length at two o'clock the *général* began to beat, the tocsin rang, and the alarm gun thundered in the capital. Troops of citizens repaired to the Champ de Mars. Others surrounded the commune and the Assembly, and filled the public places.

There were at the Hôtel de Ville twenty-four priests, who, having been apprehended on account of their refusal to take the oath, were to be removed from the hall of the dépôt to the prisons of the Abbaye. Whether purposely or accidentally, this moment was chosen for their removal. They were placed in six hackney coaches, and escorted by Breton and Marseillais federalists, they were conveyed at a slow pace towards the Faubourg St. Germain, along the quays, over the Pont Neuf, and through the Rue Dauphine. They were surrounded and loaded with abuse. "There," said the federalists, "are the conspirators who meant to murder our wives and children while we were on the frontiers!" These words increased the tumult. The doors of the coaches were open: the unfortunate persons within strove to shut them, in order to screen themselves from the ill-usage to which they were exposed; but being prevented, they were obliged to endure blows and abuse with patience.

At length they reached the court of the Abbaye, where an immense crowd was already collected. That court led to the prisons, and communicated with the hall in which the committee of the section of the Quatre-Nations held its meetings. The first coach, on driving up to the door of the hall, was surrounded by a furious rabble. Maillard was present. The door opened. The first of the prisoners stepped forward to alight and to enter the hall, but was immediately pierced by a thousand weapons. The second threw himself back in the carriage, but was dragged forth by main force, and slaughtered like the preceding. The other two shared the same fate; and their murderers left the first coach to go to those which followed. They came up one after another into the fatal court, and the last of the twenty-four priests* was despatched amidst the howls of an infuriated populace.

At this moment Billaud-Varennes† arrived, a member of the council of the commune, and the only one of the organizers of these massacres who dared with cruel intrepidity to encounter the sight of them and constantly to defend them. He came, wearing his scarf. Walking in the blood and over the corpses, he addressed the crowd of murderers. "Good people,"

* With one exception only, the Abbé Sicard, who miraculously escaped.

† See Appendix E.

said he, "you sacrifice your enemies; you do your duty." Another voice was raised after Billaud's. It was that of Maillard. "There is nothing more to do here," cried he; "let us go to the Carmelites." His band followed him, and away they posted all together towards the church of the Carmelites, in which two hundred priests had been confined. They broke into the church, and butchered the unfortunate priests, who prayed to heaven, and embraced each other at the approach of death. They called with loud shouts for the Archbishop of Arles; * they sought for, discovered, and despatched him with the stroke of a sword upon the skull. After using their swords, they employed fire-arms, and discharged volleys into the rooms and the garden, at the tops of the walls and the trees, where some of the victims sought to escape their fury.

During the completion of the massacre at the Carmelites, Maillard returned with part of his followers to the Abbaye. Covered with blood and perspiration, he went in to the committee of the section of the Quatre-Nations, and asked *for wine for the brave labourers who were delivering the nation from its enemies*. The committee shuddered, and granted them twenty-four quarts.

The wine was poured out in the court at tables surrounded by the corpses of the persons murdered in the afternoon. After it was drunk, Maillard, of a sudden pointing to the prison, cried, "*To the Abbaye!*" At these words his gang followed him and attacked the door. The trembling prisoners heard the yells—the signal for their death! The gaoler and his wife disappeared. The doors were thrown open. The first of the prisoners who were met with were seized, dragged forth by the legs, and their bleeding bodies thrown into the court. While the first comers were thus indiscriminately slaughtered, Maillard and his band demanded the keys of the different prisons. One of them, advancing towards the door of the wicket, mounted upon a stool and harangued the mob. "My friends," said he, "you wish to destroy the aristocrats, who are the enemies of

* "When the assassins got to the chapel, they called, with loud cries, the Archbishop of Arles, 'Are you he?' said one of them, addressing this venerable and virtuous prelate. 'Yes, gentlemen, I am,' 'Ah, wretch,' replied the fellow, 'it is you who caused the blood of the patriots of Arles to be spilt,' and with these words the ruffian aimed a blow of his hanger at the prelate's forehead. He received it unmoved. A second dreadful gash was given him in the face. A third blow brought him to the ground, where he rested on his left hand without uttering a single murmur. While he lay thus, one of the assassins plunged his pike into his breast with such violence that the iron part stuck there. The ruffian then jumped on the prelate's palpitating body, trampled upon it, and tore away his watch. Thus fell that amiable archbishop, just within the chapel, at the foot of the altar and of the cross of our Saviour."—*Peltier*.

the people, and who meant to murder your wives and children while you were at the frontiers. You are right, no doubt; but you are good citizens; you love justice; and you would be very sorry to steep your hands in innocent blood." "Yes, certainly," cried the executioners. "Well, then, let me ask, when you are determined, without listening to any remonstrance, to rush like furious tigers upon men who are strangers to you, are you not liable to confound the innocent with the guilty?" The speaker was interrupted by one of the bystanders, who, armed with a sword, cried in his turn, "What! do you want to lull us to sleep too? If the Prussians and the Austrians were at Paris, would they strive to distinguish the guilty? I have a wife and family, and will not leave them in danger. Give arms, if you please, to these scoundrels. We will fight them man to man, and before we set out Paris shall be cleared of them." "He is right; we must go in," said the others, and they rushed forward. They were stopped, however, and obliged to assent to a kind of trial. It was agreed that they should take a list of the prisoners, that one of them should act as president, read the names and the causes of detention, and immediately pronounce sentence on each prisoner. "Maillard! Let Maillard be president!" cried out several voices; and forthwith he assumed the office. This terrible president seated himself at a table, placed before him the list of the prisoners, called around him a few men, taken at random, to give their opinions, sent some into the prison to bring out the inmates, and posted others at the door to consummate the massacre. It was agreed that in order to spare scenes of anguish he should pronounce these words, *Sir, to La Force!* when the prisoner should be taken out at the wicket, and unaware of the fate which awaited him, be delivered up to the swords of the party posted there.

The Swiss confined in the Abbaye, and whose officers had been taken to the Conciergerie, were first brought forward. "It was you," said Maillard, "who murdered the people on the 10th of August." "We were attacked," replied the unfortunate men, "and we obeyed our officers." "At any rate," replied Maillard coldly, "you are only going to be taken to La Force." But the prisoners, who had caught a glimpse of the swords brandished on the other side of the wicket, were not to be deceived. They were ordered to go, but halted and drew back. One of them, more courageous, asked which way they were to go. The door was opened, and he rushed headlong amidst the swords and pikes. The others followed, and met with the same fate!

The executioners returned to the prison, put all the women into one room, and brought out more prisoners. Several persons accused of forging assignats were first sacrificed. After them came the celebrated Montmorin, whose acquittal had caused so much commotion without obtaining him his liberty. Led before the bloodstained president, he declared that, being in the hands of a regular tribunal, he could not recognize any other. "Well," replied Maillard, "then you must go to La Force to await a new trial!" The unsuspecting ex-minister applied for a carriage. He was told that he would find one at the door. He also asked for some of his effects, went to the door, and was instantly put to death.

Thierry, the King's valet-de-chambre, was then brought. "Like master, like man," said Maillard, and the unfortunate prisoner was slaughtered.* Next came Buob and Bocquillon, justices of the peace, accused of having belonged to the secret committee of the Tuileries. They were accordingly murdered. Night meanwhile was advancing, and every prisoner, hearing the yells of the assassins, concluded that his last hour was at hand.

What were the constituted authorities, all the assembled bodies, all the citizens of Paris, about at this moment? In that immense capital, tranquillity and tumult, security and terror, may prevail at one and the same time, so distant is one part of it from another. It was very late before the Assembly was apprized of the atrocities perpetrated in the prisons; and horror-struck, it had sent deputies to appease the people, and to save the victims. The commune had despatched commissioners to liberate the prisoners for debt, and

* "M. Thierry, the King's head valet, after he was condemned to die, kept crying out, 'God save the King!' even when he had a pike run through his body; and as if these words were blasphemous, the assassins in a rage burned his face with two torches. The Comte de St. Mart, a knight of the order of St. Louis, one of the prisoners, had a spear run through both his sides. His executioners then forced him to crawl upon his knees, with his body thus skewered; and burst out laughing at his convulsive writhings. They at last put an end to his agony by cutting off his head."—*Peltier*.

"Young Massaubré had hid himself in a chimney. As he could not be found, the assassins were resolved to make the gaoler answerable. The latter, accustomed to the tricks of prisoners, and knowing that the chimney was well secured at top by bars of iron, fired a gun up several times. One ball hit Massaubré, and broke his wrist. He had sufficient self-command to endure the pain in silence. The gaoler then set fire to some straw in the chimney. The smoke suffocated him; he tumbled down on the burning straw, and was dragged out, wounded, burnt, and half dead. On being taken into the street, the executioners determined to complete his death in the manner in which it had been begun. He remained almost a quarter of an hour, lying in blood, among heaps of dead bodies, till the assassins could procure fire-arms. At last they put an end to his tortures by shooting him through the head five times with pistols."—*Peltier*.

to separate what they called the *innocent* from the *guilty*. Lastly, the Jacobins, though met and informed of what was passing, seemed to maintain a preconcerted silence. The ministers, assembled at the hotel of the marine to hold a council, were not yet apprized of what was being perpetrated, and awaited Danton, who was attending the committee of *surveillance*. Santerre, the commandant-general, had, so he told the commune, issued orders, but they were not obeyed, and almost all his men were engaged in guarding the barriers. It is certain that unrecognized and contradictory orders were given, and that all the signs of a secret authority, opposed to the public authority, were manifested. In the court of the Abbaye was a post of the national guard, which had instructions to suffer people to enter, but not to go out. Besides, there were posts waiting for orders, and not receiving any. Had Santerre lost his wits, as on the 10th of August, or was he implicated in the plot? While commissioners, publicly sent by the commune, came to recommend tranquillity and to pacify the people, other members of the same commune repaired to the committee of the Quatre-Nations, which was sitting close to the scene of the massacres, and said, "Is all going on right here as well as at the Carmelites? The commune sends us to offer you assistance if you need it."

The efforts of the commissioners sent by the Assembly and by the commune to put a stop to the murders had proved unavailing. They had found an immense mob surrounding the prison, and looking at the horrid sight with shouts of *Vive la nation!* Old Dusaulx, mounted on a chair, commenced an address in favour of mercy, but could not obtain a hearing. Basire, possessing more tact, had feigned a participation in the resentment of the crowd; but they refused to listen to him the moment he endeavoured to excite sentiments of compassion. Manuel, the *procureur* of the commune, filled with pity, had run the greatest risks without being able to save a single victim. At this intelligence, the commune, touched more sensibly than it had been at first, despatched a second deputation, *to pacify the people, and to enlighten their minds as to their true interests*. This deputation, as unsuccessful as the first, merely succeeded in setting at liberty a few women and debtors.

The massacre continued throughout that horrid night! The murderers succeeded each other at the tribunal and at the wicket, and became by turns judges and executioners. At the same time they continued to drink, and set down upon a table their bloodstained glasses. Amidst this carnage,

however, they spared some victims, and manifested inconceivable joy in giving them their lives. A young man, claimed by a section, and declared pure from aristocracy, was acquitted with shouts of *Vive la nation!* and borne in triumph in the bloody arms of the executioners. The venerable Sombreuil, governor of the Invalides, was brought forward in his turn, and sentenced to be transferred to La Force. His daughter perceived him from the prison, rushed out among pikes and swords, clasped her father in her arms, clung to him with such tenacity, besought his murderers with such a flood of tears and in such piteous accents, that even their fury was suspended. Then, as if to subject that sensibility which overpowered them to a fresh trial, "Drink," said they to this dutiful daughter, "drink the blood of the aristocrats!" and they handed to her a pot full of blood. She drank—and her father was saved! The daughter of Cazotte also instinctively clasped her father in her arms. She, too, implored for mercy, and proved as irresistible as the generous Sombreuil; but more fortunate than the latter, she saved her father's life without having any horrible condition imposed upon her affection.* Tears trickled from the eyes of the murderers, and yet a moment after away they went in quest of fresh victims.

One of them returned to the prison to lead forth other prisoners to death. He was told that the wretches whom he came to slaughter had been kept without water for twenty-two hours, and he resolved to go and kill the gaoler. Another felt compassion for a prisoner whom he was taking to the wicket, because he heard him speak the dialect of his own country. "Why art thou here?" said he to M. Journiac de St. Meard. "If thou art not a traitor, the president, *who is not a fool*, will do thee justice. Do not tremble, and answer boldly." M. Journiac was brought before Maillard, who looked at the list. "Ah!" said Maillard, "it is you, M. Journiac, who wrote in the *Journal de la Cour et de la Ville*." "No," replied the prisoner, "it is a calumny. I never wrote in that paper." "Beware of attempting to deceive us," rejoined Maillard, "for any falsehood here is punished with death.

* "After thirty hours of carnage, sentence was passed on Cazotte. The instrument of death was already uplifted. The bloody hands were stretched out to pierce his aged breast. His daughter flung herself on the old man's neck, and presenting her bosom to the swords of the assassins, exclaimed, 'You shall not get at my father till you have forced your way through my heart.' The pikes were instantly checked in their murderous career; a shout of pardon is heard, and is repeated by a thousand voices. Elizabeth, whose beauty was heightened by her agitation, embraces the murderers; and covered with human blood, but triumphant, she proceeds to lodge her father safe in the midst of his family."—*Peltier*.

Have you not recently absented yourself to go to the army of the emigrants?" "That is another calumny. I have a certificate attesting that for twenty-three months past I have not left Paris." "Whose is that certificate? Is the signature authentic?" Fortunately for M. de Journiac there happened to be among the sanguinary crew a man to whom the signer of the certificate was personally known. The signature was accordingly verified and declared to be genuine. "You see, then," resumed M. de Journiac, "I have been slandered." "If the slanderer were here," replied Maillard, "he should suffer condign punishment. But tell me, was there no motive for your confinement?" "Yes," answered M. de Journiac; "I was known to be an aristocrat." "An aristocrat!" "Yes, an aristocrat; but you are not here to sit in judgment on opinions. It is conduct only that you have to try. Mine is irreproachable; I have never conspired; my soldiers in the regiment which I commanded adored me, and they begged me at Nancy to go and take Malseigne." Struck with his firmness, the judges looked at one another, and Maillard gave the signal of mercy. Shouts of *Vive la nation!* instantly arose on all sides. The prisoner was embraced. Two men laid hold of him, and covering him with their arms, led him safely through the threatening array of pikes and swords. M. de Journiac offered them money, but they refused it, and only asked permission to embrace him.* Another prisoner, saved in like manner, was escorted home with the same attention. The executioners, dripping with blood, begged leave to witness the joy of his family, and immediately afterwards returned to the carnage. In this convulsive state all the emotions succeed each other in the heart of man. By turns a mild and ferocious animal, he weeps and then slaughters. Steeped in blood, he is all at once touched by an instance of ardent affection or of noble firmness. He is sensible to the honour of appearing just, to the vanity of appearing upright or disinterested. If in these deplorable days of September some of those savages were seen turning at once robbers and murderers, others were seen coming to deposit on the bureau of the committee of the Abbaye the bloodstained jewels found upon the prisoners.

During this terrific night the band had divided and carried destruction into the other prisons of Paris. At the Châtelet, La Force, the Conciergerie, the Bernardins, St. Firmin, La Salpêtrière, and the Bicêtre, the same massacres had been per-

* See Appendix F.

petrated, and streams of blood had flowed, as at the Abbaye.* Next morning, Monday the 3rd of September, day threw a light upon the horrid carnage of the night, and consternation pervaded all Paris. Billaud-Varennes again repaired to the Abbaye, where on the preceding evening he had encouraged what were called *the labourers*. He again addressed them. "My friends," said he, "by taking the lives of villains you have saved the country. France owes you everlasting gratitude, and the municipality knows not how to remunerate you. It offers you twenty-four livres apiece, and you shall be paid immediately." These words were received with applause, and those to whom they were addressed then followed Billaud-Varennes to the committee to receive the pay that was promised them. "Where do you imagine," said the president to Billaud, "that we are to find funds for paying?" Billaud then pronounced a fresh eulogy on the massacres, and told the president that the minister of the interior must have money for that purpose. Messengers were sent to Roland, who on rising had just received intelligence of the crimes of the night, and who refused the demand with indignation. Returning to the committee, the murderers demanded, upon pain of death, the wages of their horrid labour, and every member was obliged to empty his pockets to satisfy them.† The commune undertook to pay the remainder of the debt, and there may still be seen in the statement of its expenses the entries of several sums paid to the executioners of September. There, too, may be seen, at the date of September the 4th, the sum of one thousand four hundred and sixty-three livres charged to the same account.

The report of all these horrors had spread throughout Paris,

* "The populace in the court of the Abbaye complained that the foremost only got a stroke at the prisoners, and that they were deprived of the pleasure of murdering the aristocrats. It was in consequence agreed that those in advance should only strike with the backs of their sabres, and that the wretched victims should be made to run the gauntlet through a long avenue of murderers, each of whom should have the satisfaction of striking them before they expired. The women in the adjoining quarter made a formal demand to the commune for lights to see the massacres, and a lamp was in consequence placed near the spot where the victims issued, amid the shouts of the spectators. Benches, under the charge of sentinels, were next arranged, some 'Pour les Messieurs,' and others 'Pour les Dames,' to witness the spectacle!"—*Mison*.

† "The assassins were not slow in claiming their promised reward. Stained with blood, and bespattered with brains, with their swords and bayonets in their hands, they soon thronged the doors of the committee of the municipality, who were at a loss for funds to discharge their claims. 'Do you think I have only earned twenty-four francs?' said a young baker, armed with a massive weapon; 'why, I have slain forty with my own hands!' At midnight the mob returned, threatening instant death to the whole committee if they were not forthwith paid."—*Mison*.

and produced the greatest consternation. The Jacobins continued to observe silence. Some symptoms of compassion were shown at the commune; but its members did not fail to add that the people had been just; that they had punished criminals only; and that in their vengeance, if they had done wrong, it was merely by anticipating the sword of the law. The general council had again sent commissioners "to allay the agitation, and to bring back to right principles those who had been misled." Such were the expressions of the public authorities! People were everywhere to be found who, whilst pitying the sufferings of the unfortunate victims, added, "If they had been allowed to live, they would have murdered us in a few days." "If," said others, "we are conquered and massacred by the Prussians, they will at least have fallen before us." Such are the frightful consequences of the fear which parties produce in each other, and of the hatred engendered by that fear!

The Assembly, amidst these atrocious outrages, was painfully affected. Decree after decree was issued, demanding from the commune an account of the state of Paris; and the commune replied that it was doing all that lay in its power to restore order and the laws. Still the Assembly, composed of those Girondins who proceeded so courageously against the murderers of September, and died so nobly for having attacked them—the Assembly did not conceive the idea of repairing in a body to the prisons, and placing itself between the butchers and the victims. If that generous idea did not occur to draw them from their seats and to transfer them to the theatre of the carnage, this must be attributed to surprise, to the feeling of impotence, perhaps also to that lukewarmness occasioned by danger from an enemy, and lastly, to that disastrous notion shared by some of the deputies, that the victims were so many conspirators, at whose hands death might have been expected had it not been inflicted on themselves.

One individual displayed on this day a generous character, and exclaimed with noble energy against the murderers. During their reign of three days, he remonstrated on the second. On Monday morning, the moment he was informed of the crimes of the night, he wrote to Petion, the mayor, who as yet knew nothing of them. He wrote to Santerre, who did not act; and addressed to both the most urgent requisitions. He also sent at the moment a letter to the Assembly, which was received with applause. This excellent man, so unworthily calumniated by the parties, was Roland. In his letter he inveighed against all sorts of disorders, against the usurpations

of the commune, against the fury of the populace, and said nobly, that he was ready to die at the post which the law had assigned to him. If, however, the reader wishes to form an idea of the exciting dispositions of minds, of the fury which prevailed against those who were denominated *traitors*, and of the caution with which it was necessary to speak of outrageous passions, some notion of them may be conceived from the following passage. Assuredly there can be no question of the courage of the man who alone and publicly held all the authorities responsible for the massacres; and yet observe in what manner he was obliged to express himself on the subject:—

“Yesterday was a day over the events of which we ought perhaps to throw a veil. I know that the people, terrible in their vengeance, exercise a sort of justice in it; they do not take for their victims all whom they encounter in their fury; they direct it against those whom they consider as having been too long spared by the sword of the law, and whom the danger of circumstances persuades them that it is expedient to sacrifice without delay. But I know, too, that it is easy for villains, for traitors, to abuse this excitement, and that it ought to be stopped. I know that we owe to all France the declaration that the executive power could neither foresee nor prevent these excesses. I know that it is the duty of the constituted authorities to put an end to them, or to regard themselves as annihilated. I know, moreover, that this declaration exposes me to the rage of certain agitators. Let them take my life. I am not anxious to preserve it, unless for the sake of liberty and equality. If these be violated or destroyed, either by the rule of foreign despots or by the excesses of a misled people, I shall have lived long enough; but till my latest breath I shall have done my duty. This is the only good which I covet, and of which no power on earth can deprive me.”

The Assembly received this letter with applause, and on the motion of Lamourette, ordered the commune to give an account of the state of Paris. The commune again replied that tranquillity was restored. On seeing the courage of the minister of the interior, Marat and his committee were exasperated, and dared to issue an order for his apprehension. Such was their blind fury, that they had the hardihood to attack a minister and a man who at the moment still possessed all his popularity. At this news Danton vehemently inveighed against those members of the committee whom he called *madmen*. Though daily thwarted by the inflexibility of Roland, he was far from harbouring animosity against him. Besides, he dreaded in his terrible policy all that he deemed useless, and

he regarded it as extravagant to seize the minister of State in the midst of his functions. He repaired to the residence of the mayor, hastened to the committee, and launched out indignantly against Marat. Means were nevertheless found to appease him, and to reconcile him with Marat. The order for Roland's apprehension was delivered to him, and he went immediately and showed it to Petion, to whom he related what he had done. "See," said he, "what those *madmen* are capable of! but I shall know how to bring them to reason." "You have done wrong," coolly replied Petion; "this act could not have harmed any but its authors."

Petion, on his part, though colder than Roland, had displayed not less courage. He had written to Santerre, who, either from impotence, or from being implicated in the plot, replied that his heart was rent, but that he could not enforce the execution of his orders. He had afterwards repaired in person to the different theatres of carnage. At La Force he had dragged from their bloody seat two municipal officers in scarfs, who were acting in the same capacity as Maillard had done at the Abbaye. But no sooner was he gone to proceed to some other place, than the municipal officers returned and continued their executions. Petion, whose presence was everywhere inefficacious, returned to Roland, who was taken ill in consequence of the deep impression that had been made upon him. The only place preserved from attack was the Temple, against the inmates of which the popular fury was particularly excited. Here, however, the armed force had been more fortunate; and a tricoloured ribbon extended between the walls and the populace had sufficed to keep it off, and to save the royal family.*

The monsters who had been spilling blood ever since Sunday had contracted an appetite for it, and a habit which they could not immediately lay aside. They had even established a sort of regularity in their executions. They suspended them for the purpose of removing the corpses, and taking their meals. Women, carrying refreshments, even repaired to the prisons, to take dinner to their husbands, who, they said, *were at work at the Abbaye*.

At La Force, the Bicêtre, and the Abbaye, the massacres were continued longer than elsewhere. It was at La Force

* "One of the commissioners told me that the mob had attempted to rush in, and to carry into the Tower the body of the Princesse de Lamballe, naked and bloody, as it had been dragged from the prison de la Force to the Temple; but that some municipal officers had hung a tricoloured ribbon across the principal gate as a bar against them; and that for six hours it was very doubtful whether the royal family would be massacred or not."—*Clergy*.



MISS MARY ANNE PERCIVAL

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that the unfortunate Princesse de Lamballe was confined. She had been celebrated at Court for her beauty and her intimacy with the Queen. She was led dying to the terrible wicket. "Who are you?" asked the executioners in scarfs. "Louisa of Savoy, Princesse de Lamballe." "What part do you act at Court? Are you acquainted with the plots of the palace?" "I was never acquainted with any plot." "Swear to love liberty and equality; swear to hate the King, the Queen, and royalty." "I will take the first oath; the second I cannot take; it is not in my heart." "Swear, however," said one of the bystanders, who wished to save her. But the unfortunate lady could no longer either see or hear. "Let madame be *set at liberty*," said the chief of the wicket. Here, as at the Abbaye, a particular word had been adopted as the signal of death. The Princess was led away, not as some writers assert, to be put to death, but for the purpose of being actually liberated. At the door, however, she was received by wretches eager for carnage. At the first stroke of a sabre on the back of her head the blood gushed forth. She still advanced, supported by two men, who perhaps meant to save her; but a few paces further she fell from the effect of a second blow. Her beautiful form was torn in pieces.* It was even mangled and mutilated by the murderers, who divided the fragments among them. Her head, her heart, and other parts of her body were borne through Paris on the point of pikes! "We must," said the wretches, in their atrocious language, "*carry them to the foot of the throne*." They ran to the Temple, and with shouts awoke the unfortunate prisoners. They inquired in alarm what was the matter. The municipal officers wished to prevent them from seeing the horrible crew under the window, and the bloody head uplifted on the point of a pike. At length one of the national guards said to the Queen, "It is the head of Lamballe which they are anxious to keep you from seeing." At these words the Queen fainted. Madame Elizabeth, the King, and Clery, the valet-de-chambre, carried away the unfortunate Princess, and for a considerable time afterwards the shouts of the ferocious rabble rang around the walls of the Temple.

The whole day of the 3rd, and the succeeding night, continued to be sullied by these massacres. At the Bicêtre the carnage was longer and more terrible than anywhere else.†

* See Appendix G.

† "The Bicêtre Hospital was the scene of the longest and the most bloody carnage. This prison might be called the haunt or receptacle of every vice; it was an hospital, also, for the cure of the foulest and most afflicting diseases. It was the sink of Paris. Every creature there was put to death. It is impossible

There some thousands of prisoners were confined, as everybody knows, for all sorts of misdemeanours. They were attacked, endeavoured to defend themselves, and cannon were employed to reduce them. A member of the general council of the commune even had the audacity to apply for a force to reduce the prisoners, who were defending themselves. He was not listened to. Petion repaired again to the Bicêtre, but to no purpose. The thirst for blood urged on the multitude. The fury of fighting and murdering had superseded political fanaticism, and it killed for the sake of killing. There the massacre lasted till Thursday the 5th of September.*

At length almost all the victims had perished; the prisons were empty. The infuriated wretches still demanded blood, but the dark directors of so many murders began themselves to be accessible to pity. The expressions of the commune assumed a milder tone. Deeply moved, it said, by the rigour exercised against the prisoners, it issued fresh orders for stopping them; and this time it was better obeyed. There were, however, but very few unhappy individuals left to benefit by its pity! All the reports of the time differ in their estimate of the number of the victims. That estimate varies from six to twelve thousand in the prisons of Paris.†

to calculate the number of victims, but I have heard them calculated at 6000. The work of death never ceased for an instant during eight days and nights. Pikes, swords, and guns not being sufficient for the ferocity of the murderers, they were obliged to have recourse to cannon. Then, for the first time, were prisoners seen fighting for their dungeons and their chains. They made a long and deadly resistance, but were all eventually assassinated."—*Peltier*.

* See Appendix H.

† "Recapitulation of the persons massacred in the different prisons at Paris, from Sunday the 2nd till Friday the 7th of September 1792 :—

- 244 at the Convent of the Carmelites, and at St. Firmin's Seminary ;
- 180 at the Abbey of St. Germain ;
- 73 at the Cloister of the Bernardins ;
- 45 at the Hospital of La Salpêtrière ;
- 85 at the Conciergerie ;
- 214 at the Châtelet ;
- 164 at the Hôtel de la Force.

1005

To these should be added the poor creatures who were put to death in the Hospital of Bicêtre, and in the yards at La Salpêtrière; those who were drowned at the Hôtel de la Force; and all those who were dragged out of the dungeons of the Conciergerie and the Châtelet, to be butchered on the Pont-au-Change, the number of whom it will ever be impossible wholly to ascertain, but which may without exaggeration be computed at 8000 individuals."—*Peltier*.

"The small number of those who perpetrated these murders in the French capital under the eyes of the legislature is one of the most instructive facts in the history of revolutions. The number actually engaged in the massacres did not exceed 300; and twice as many more witnessed and encouraged their proceedings: yet this handful of men governed Paris and France with a despotism

But if the executions spread consternation, the audacity which could avow and recommend the imitation of them, excited not less surprise than the executions themselves. The committee of *surveillance* dared to address a circular to all the communes of France, which history ought to preserve, together with the names of the seven persons who did not hesitate to sign it. From this document the reader may form some conception of the fanaticism produced by the public danger.

PARIS, *September 2, 1792.*

“BRETHREN AND FRIENDS.—A horrid plot, hatched by the Court, to murder all the patriots of the French empire, a plot in which a great number of members of the National Assembly are implicated, having on the 9th of last month reduced the commune of Paris to the cruel necessity of employing the power of the people to save the nation, it has not neglected anything to deserve well of the country. After the testimonies which the National Assembly itself had just given, could it have been imagined that fresh plots were hatching in secret, and that they would break forth at the very moment when the National Assembly, forgetting its recent declaration that the commune of Paris had saved the country, was striving to cashier it as a reward for its ardent patriotism? At these tidings the public clamour raised on all sides rendered the National Assembly sensible of the urgent necessity for joining the people, and restoring to the commune, with reference to the decree of destitution, the power with which it had invested it.

“Proud of enjoying in the fullest measure the national confidence, which it will strive to deserve more and more, placed in the focus of all conspiracies, and determined to perish for the public welfare, it will not boast of having done its duty till it shall have obtained your approbation, which is the object of all its wishes, and of which it will not be certain till all the departments have sanctioned its measures for the public weal. Professing the principles of the most perfect

which 300,000 armed warriors afterwards strove in vain to effect. The immense majority of the well-disposed citizens, divided in opinion, irresolute in conduct, and dispersed in various quarters, were incapable of arresting the progress of assassination. It is not less worthy of observation that these atrocities took place in the heart of a city where above 50,000 men were enrolled in the national guard, and had arms in their hands! When the murders had ceased, the remains of the victims were thrown into trenches previously prepared by the municipality for their reception. They were subsequently conveyed to the catacombs, where they were built up; and still remain the monument of crimes unfit to be thought of, and which France would gladly bury in oblivion.”—*Alison.*

equality, aspiring to no other privilege than that of being the first to mount the breach, it will feel anxious to reduce itself to the level of the least numerous commune of the empire as soon as there shall be nothing more to dread.

“Apprized that barbarous hordes are advancing against it, the commune of Paris hastens to inform its brethren in all the departments that part of the ferocious conspirators confined in the prisons has been put to death by the people—acts of justice which appeared to it indispensable for repressing by terror the legions of traitors encompassed by its walls at the moment when they were about to march against the enemy; and no doubt the nation, after the long series of treasons which have brought it to the brink of the abyss, will eagerly adopt this useful and necessary expedient; and all the French will say, like the Parisians—We are marching against the enemy, and we will not leave behind us brigands to murder our wives and our children.

(Signed) “DUPLOIN, PANIS, SERGENT, LENFANT, MARAT, LEFORT, JOURDEUIL, Administrators of the Committee of *Surveillance*, constituted at the *Mairie*.”

Dumouriez, as we have seen, had already held a council of war at Sedan. Dillon had there proposed to fall back to Châlons, for the purpose of placing the Marne in our front, and of defending the passage of that river. The disorder prevailing among the twenty-three thousand men left to Dumouriez; their inability to make head against eighty thousand Prussians, perfectly organized and habituated to war; the intention attributed to the enemy of making a rapid invasion without stopping at the fortresses—these were the reasons which led Dillon to conceive it to be impossible to keep the Prussians in check, and that no time should be lost in retiring before them, in order to seek stronger positions which might make amends. The council was so struck by these reasons that it coincided unanimously in Dillon's opinion, and Dumouriez, to whom as general-in-chief the decision belonged, replied that he would consider it.

This was on the evening of the 28th of August. A resolution was here taken which saved France. Several persons dispute the honour of it. Everything proves that it is due to Dumouriez. The execution at any rate renders it entirely his own, and ought to earn for him all the glory of it. France, as every reader knows, is defended on the east by the Rhine and the Vosges, on the north by a chain of fortresses created

by the genius of Vauban, and by the Meuse, the Moselle, and various streams, which, combined with the fortified towns, constitute a sum total of obstacles sufficient to protect that frontier. The enemy had penetrated into France from the north, and had directed his march between Sedan and Metz, leaving the attack of the fortresses of the Netherlands to the Duke of Saxe-Teschén, and masking Metz and Lorraine by a body of troops. Consistently with this plan, he ought to have marched rapidly, profited by the disorganization of the French, struck terror into them by decisive blows, and even taken Lafayette's twenty-three thousand men before a new general had again given them unity and confidence. But the struggle between the presumption of the King of Prussia and the prudence of Brunswick forbade any resolution, and prevented the allies from being either bold or prudent. The reduction of Verdun inflamed still more the vanity of Frederick William and the ardour of the emigrants, but without giving greater activity to Brunswick, who was far from approving of the invasion with the means which he possessed, and with the disposition of the invaded country. After the capture of Verdun on the 2nd of September, the allied army spread itself for some days over the plains bordering the Meuse, and contented itself with occupying Stenay without advancing a single step. Dumouriez was at Sedan, and his army encamped in the environs.

From Sedan to Passavant a forest extends, the name of which ought to be for ever famous in our annals. This is the forest of Argonne, which covers a space of from thirteen to fifteen leagues, and which, from the inequalities of the ground, and the mixture of wood and water, is absolutely impenetrable to an army, except by some of the principal passes. Through this forest the enemy must have penetrated, in order to reach Châlons, and afterwards take the road to Paris. With such a plan it is astonishing that he had not yet thought of occupying the principal passes, and thus have anticipated Dumouriez, who, from his position at Sedan, was separated from them by the whole length of the forest. The evening after the council of war the French general was considering the map with an officer, in whose talents he had the greatest confidence. This was Thouvenot. Pointing with his finger to the Argonne and the tracks by which it is intersected, "That," said he, "is the Thermopylæ of France. If I can but get thither before the Prussians, all will be saved."

Thouvenot's genius took fire at this expression, and both fell to work upon the details of this grand plan. Its advantages were immense. Instead of retreating and having nothing

but the Marne for a last line of defence. Dumouriez would by its adoption cause the enemy to lose valuable time, and oblige him to remain in Champagne, the desolate, muddy, sterile soil of which could not furnish supplies for an army; neither would he give up to the invaders, as would happen if he retired to Châlons, the Trois-Évêchés, a rich and fertile country, where they might winter very comfortably, in case they should not have forced the Marne. If the enemy, after losing some time before the forest, attempted to turn it, and directed his course towards Sedan, he would meet with the fortresses of the Netherlands, and it was not to be supposed that he could reduce them. If he tried the other extremity of the forest, he would come upon Metz and the army of the centre. Dumouriez would then set out in pursuit of him, and by joining the army of Kellermann he might form a mass of fifty thousand men, supported by Metz and several other fortified towns. At all events this course would disappoint him of the object of his march, and cause him to lose this campaign; for it was already September, and at this period people began at that season to take up winter quarters. This plan was excellent, but the point was to carry it into execution; and the Prussians ranged along the Argonne, while Dumouriez was at one of its extremities, might have occupied its passes. Thus then the issue of this grand plan and the fate of France depended on accident and a fault of the enemy.

The Argonne is intersected by five defiles called Chêne-Populeux, Croix-aux-Bois, Grand-Prey, La Chalade, and Islettes. The most important are those of Grand-Prey and Islettes; and unluckily these were the farthest from Sedan, and the nearest to the enemy. Dumouriez resolved to proceed thither with his whole force. At the same time he ordered General Dubouquet to leave the department of the Nord, and to occupy the pass of Chêne-Populeux, which was of great importance, but very near Sedan, and the occupation of which was less urgent. Two routes presented themselves to Dumouriez for marching to Grand-Prey and Islettes. One was in the rear of the forest; the other in front of it, and in face of the enemy. The first, passing in the rear of the forest, was the safer, but the longer of the two. It would reveal our designs to the enemy, and give him time to counteract them. The other was shorter; but this, too, would betray our intentions, and expose our march to the attacks of a formidable army. It would in fact oblige the French general to skirt the woods, and to pass in front of Stenay, where Clairfayt* was posted with his Austrians.

* See Appendix I.

Dumouriez nevertheless preferred the latter route, and conceived the bolder plan. He concluded that, with Austrian prudence, the general would not fail, on the appearance of the French, to entrench himself in the excellent camp of Brouenne, and that he might in the meantime give him the slip and proceed to Grand-Prey and Islettes.

Accordingly, on the 30th, Dillon put himself in motion, and set out with eight thousand men for Stenay, marching between the Meuse and the forest. He found Clairfayt occupying both banks of the river, with twenty-five thousand Austrians. General Miaczinsky, with fifteen hundred men, attacked Clairfayt's advanced posts, while Dillon, posted in rear, marched to his support with his whole division. A brisk firing ensued, and Clairfayt, immediately recrossing the Meuse, marched for Brouenne, as Dumouriez had most happily foreseen. Meanwhile Dillon boldly proceeded between the Meuse and the Argonne. Dumouriez followed him closely with the fifteen thousand men composing his main body, and both advanced towards the posts which were assigned to them. On the 2nd, Dumouriez was at Beffu, and he had but one march more to make in order to reach Grand-Prey. Dillon was on the same day at Pierremont, and kept advancing with extreme boldness towards Islettes. Luckily for him, General Galbaud, sent to reinforce the garrison of Verdun, had arrived too late and fallen back upon Islettes, which he thus occupied beforehand. Dillon came up on the 4th with his ten thousand men, established himself there, and moreover occupied La Chalade, another secondary pass, which was committed to his charge. Dumouriez at the same time reached Grand-Prey, found the post vacant, and took possession of it on the 3rd. Thus the third and fourth of the passes were occupied by our troops, and the salvation of France was considerably advanced.

It was by this bold march, which was at least as meritorious as the idea of occupying the Argonne, that Dumouriez placed himself in a condition to resist the invasion. But this was not enough. It was necessary to render those passes inexpugnable, and to this end to make a great number of dispositions depending on many chances.

Dillon entrenched himself at the Islettes. He made abattis, threw up excellent entrenchments, and skilfully placing the French artillery, which was numerous and excellent, formed batteries which rendered the pass inaccessible. At the same time he occupied La Chalade, and thus made himself master of the two routes leading to St. Menchould, and from St. Menchould to Châlons. Dumouriez established himself at Grand-

Prey in a camp rendered formidable both by nature and art. The site of this encampment consisted of heights rising in the form of an amphitheatre. At the foot of these heights lay extensive meadows, before which flowed the Aire, forming the *tête du camp*. Two bridges were thrown over the Aire, and two very strong advanced guards were placed there, with orders to burn them, and to retire in case of attack. The enemy, after dislodging these advanced troops, would have to effect the passage of the Aire, without the help of bridges, and under the fire of all our artillery. Having passed the river, he would then have to advance through a basin of meadows crossed by a thousand fires, and lastly, to storm steep and almost inaccessible entrenchments. In case all these obstacles should be overcome, Dumouriez, retreating by the heights which he occupied, would descend the back of them, find at their foot the Aisne, another stream which skirted them on that side, cross two bridges which he would destroy, and thus again place a river between himself and the Prussians. This camp might be considered as impregnable, and there the French general would be sufficiently secure to turn his attention quietly to the whole theatre of the war.

On the 7th, General Dubouquet, with six thousand men, occupied the pass of Chêne-Populeux. There was now left only the much less important pass of Croix-aux-Bois, which lay between Chêne-Populeux and Grand-Prey. There Dumouriez, having first caused the road to be broken up and trees felled, posted a colonel with two battalions and two squadrons. Placed thus in the centre of the forest, and in a camp that was impregnable, he defended the principal pass with fifteen thousand men. On his right, at the distance of four leagues, was Dillon, who guarded the Islettes and La Chalade with eight thousand. On his left Dubouquet, who occupied the Chêne-Populeux with six thousand; and a colonel with a few companies watched the road of the Croix-aux-Bois, which was deemed of very inferior importance.

His whole defence being thus arranged, he had time to wait for reinforcements, and he hastened to give orders accordingly. He directed Beurnonville * to quit the frontier of the Netherlands, where the Duke of Saxe-Teschen was not attempting anything of importance, and to be at Rethel on the 13th of September, with ten thousand men. He fixed upon Châlons as the dépôt for provisions and ammunition, and for the rendezvous of the recruits and reinforcements which had been

* See Appendix J,

sent off to him. He thus collected in his rear all the means of composing a sufficient resistance. At the same time he informed the executive power that he had occupied the Argonne. "Grand-Prey and the Islettes," he wrote, "are our Thermopylæ; but I shall be more fortunate than Leonidas." He begged that some regiments might be detached from the army of the Rhine, which was not threatened, and that they might be joined to the army of the centre, now under the command of Kellermann. The intention of the Prussians being evidently to march upon Paris, because they masked Montmedy and Thionville without stopping before them, he proposed that Kellermann should be ordered to skirt their left, by Ligny and Bar-le-Duc, and thus take them in flank and rear during their offensive march. In consequence of all these dispositions, if the Prussians should go higher up without attempting to force the Argonne, Dumouriez would be at Revigny before them, and would there find Kellermann arriving from Metz with the army of the centre. If they descended towards Sedan, Dumouriez would still follow them, fall in with Beurnonville's ten thousand men, and wait for Kellermann on the banks of the Aisne; and in both cases the junction would produce a total of sixty thousand men, capable of showing themselves in the open field.

The executive power omitted nothing to second Dumouriez in his excellent plans. Servan, the minister at war, though in ill health, attended without intermission to the provisioning of the armies, to the despatching of necessaries and ammunition, and to the assemblage of the new levies. From fifteen hundred to two thousand volunteers daily left Paris. A military enthusiasm seized all classes, and people hurried away in crowds to join the army. The halls of the patriotic societies, the councils of the commune, and the Assembly were incessantly traversed by companies raised spontaneously, and marching off for Châlons, the general rendezvous of the volunteers. These young soldiers lacked nothing but discipline and familiarity with the field of battle, in which they were yet deficient, but which they were likely soon to acquire under an able general.

The Girondins were personal enemies of Dumouriez, and they had given him but little of their confidence ever since he expelled them from the ministry. They had even endeavoured to supersede him in the chief command by an officer named Grimoard. But they had again rallied round him as soon as he seemed to be charged with the destinies of the country. Roland, the best, the most disinterested of them, had written him a touching letter to assure him that all was forgotten, and

that his friends all wished for nothing more ardently than to have to celebrate his victories.

Dumouriez had thus vigorously seized upon this frontier, and made himself the centre of vast movements, till then too tardy and too unconnected. He had happily occupied the defiles of the Argonne, taken a position which afforded the armies time to collect and to organize themselves in his rear; he was bringing together all the corps for the purpose of forming an imposing mass; he had placed Kellermann under the necessity of coming to receive his orders; he commanded with vigour, he acted with promptness, he kept up the spirits of his soldiers by appearing in the midst of them, by testifying great confidence in them, and by making them wish for a speedy rencounter with the enemy.

Such was the state of affairs on the 10th of September. The Prussians passed along all our posts, skirmished on the front of all our entrenchments, and were everywhere repulsed. Dumouriez had formed secret communications in the interior of the forest, by which he sent to the points that were threatened unexpected reinforcements, which caused the enemy to believe our army to be twice as strong as it really was. On the 11th there was a general attempt upon Grand-Prey; but General Miranda, posted at Mortaume, and General Stengel at St. Jouvian, repulsed all the attacks with complete success. On several points the soldiers, encouraged by their position and the attitude of their leaders, leaped over the entrenchments, and met the approaching assailants at the point of the bayonet. These combats occupied the army, which was sometimes in want of provisions, owing to the disorder inseparable from sudden service. But the cheerfulness of the general, who fared no better than his troops, produced universal resignation; and though dysentery began to make its appearance, still the camp of Grand-Prey was tolerably healthy. The superior officers only, who doubted the possibility of a long resistance, and the ministry, who had no conception of it either, talked of a retreat behind the Marne, and annoyed Dumouriez with their suggestions. He wrote energetic letters to the ministers, and imposed silence on his officers by telling them that when he wanted their advice he would call a council of war.

It is impossible for a man to escape the disadvantages incident to his qualities. Thus the extreme promptness of Dumouriez's mind frequently hurried him on to act without due reflection. In his ardour to conceive it had already happened that he had forgotten to calculate the material

obstacles to his plans; especially when he ordered Lafayette to proceed from Metz to Givet. Here he committed a capital fault, which, had he possessed less energy of mind and coolness, might have occasioned the loss of the campaign. Between the Chêne-Populeux and Grand-Prey there was, as we have stated, a secondary pass, which had been deemed of very inferior consequence, and was defended by no more than two battalions and two squadrons. Wholly engrossed by concerns of the highest importance, Dumouriez had not gone to inspect that pass with his own eyes. Having, moreover, but few men to post there, he had easily persuaded himself that some hundreds would be sufficient to guard it. To crown the misfortune, the colonel whom Dumouriez had placed there persuaded him that part of the troops at that post might be withdrawn, and that if the roads were broken up, a few volunteers would suffice to maintain the defensive at that point. Dumouriez suffered himself to be misled by this colonel, an old officer, whom he deemed worthy of confidence.

Meanwhile Brunswick had caused our different posts to be examined, and for a moment he entertained the design of skirting the forest as far as Sedan, for the purpose of turning it towards that extremity. It appears that during this movement the spies discovered the negligence of the French general. The Croix-aux-Bois was attacked by the Austrians and the emigrants commanded by the Prince de Ligne. The abattis had scarcely been made, the roads were not broken up, and the pass was occupied without resistance on the morning of the 13th. No sooner had the unpleasant tidings reached Dumouriez than he sent General Chasot, a very brave officer, with two brigades, six squadrons, and four eight-pounders, to recover possession of the pass, and to drive the Austrians from it. He ordered them to be attacked as briskly as possible with the bayonet before they had time to entrench themselves. The 13th and 14th passed before General Chasot could execute the orders which he had received. At length on the 15th he attacked with vigour, and repulsed the enemy, who lost the post and their commander, the Prince de Ligne. But being attacked two hours afterwards by a very superior force, before he could entrench himself, he was in his turn repulsed, and entirely dispossessed of the Croix-aux-Bois. Chasot was moreover cut off from Grand-Prey, and could not retire towards the main army, which was thus weakened by all the troops that he had with him. He immediately fell back upon Vouziers. General Dubouquet, commanding at the Chêne-Populeux, and thus far successful in his resistance, seeing himself

separated from Grand-Prey, conceived that he ought not to run the risk of being surrounded by the enemy, who, having broken the line at the Croix-aux-Bois, was about to debouch *en masse*. He resolved, therefore, to decamp, and to retreat, by Attigny and Somme-Puis, upon Châlons. Thus the fruit of so many bold combinations and lucky accidents was lost. The only obstacle that could be opposed to the invasion, the Argonne, was surmounted, and the road to Paris was thrown open.

Dumouriez, separated from Chasot and Dubouquet, was reduced to fifteen thousand men; and if the enemy, debouching rapidly by the Croix-aux-Bois, should turn the position of Grand-Prey, and occupy the passes of the Aisne, which, as we have said, served for an outlet to the rear of the camp, the French general would be undone. Having forty thousand Prussians in front, twenty-five thousand Austrians in his rear, hemmed in with fifteen thousand men by sixty-five thousand, by two rivers, and by the forest, he could do nothing but lay down his arms, or cause his soldiers to the very last man to be uselessly slaughtered. The only army upon which France relied would thus be annihilated, and the allies might take without impediment the road to the capital.

In this desperate situation the general was not discouraged, but maintained an admirable coolness. His first care was to think the very same day of retreating, for it was his most urgent duty to save himself from the Caudine forks. He considered that on his right he was in contact with Dillon, who was yet master of the Islettes and the road to St. Menieould; that by retiring upon the rear of the latter, and placing his back against Dillon's, they should both face the enemy, the one at the Islettes, the other at St. Menieould, and thus present a double entrenched front. There they might await the junction of the two generals Chasot and Dubouquet, detached from the main body; that of Beurnonville, ordered from Flanders to be at Rethel on the 13th; and lastly, that of Kellermann, who, having been more than ten days on his march, could not fail very soon to arrive with his army. This plan was the best and the most accordant with the system of Dumouriez, which consisted in not falling back into the interior, towards an open country, but in maintaining his ground in a difficult one, in gaining time there, and in placing himself in a position to form a junction with the army of the centre. If, on the contrary, he were to fall back on Châlons, he would be pursued as a fugitive; he would execute with disadvantage a retreat which he might have made more beneficially at first; and above all, he would render it impossible for Kellermann to join him. It showed

great boldness, after such an accident as had befallen him at the Croix-aux-Bois, to persist in his system; and it required at the moment as much genius as energy not to give way to the oft-repeated advice to retire behind the Marne. But then again, how many lucky accidents does it not require to succeed in a retreat so difficult, so closely watched, and executed with so small a force in the presence of so powerful an enemy!*

He immediately sent orders to Beurnonville, who was already proceeding towards Rethel, to Chasot, from whom he had just received favourable tidings, and to Dubouquet, who had retired to Attigny, to repair all of them to St. Menchould. At the same time he despatched fresh instructions to Kellermann to continue his march: for he was afraid lest Kellermann, on hearing of the loss of the defiles, should determine to return to Metz. Having made these arrangements, and received a Prussian officer, who demanded a parley, and shown him the camp in the best order, he directed the tents to be struck at midnight, and the troops to march in silence towards the two bridges which served for outlets to the camp of Grand-Prey. Luckily for him, the enemy had not yet thought of penetrating by the Croix-aux-Bois, and overwhelming the French positions. The weather was stormy, and covered the retreat of the French with darkness. They marched all night on the most execrable roads, and the army, which fortunately had not had time to take alarm, retired without knowing the motive of this change of position.

By eight in the morning of the next day, the 16th, all the troops had crossed the Aisne. Dumouriez had escaped, and he halted in order of battle on the heights of Autry, four leagues from Grand-Prey. He was not pursued, considered himself saved, and was advancing towards Dammartin-sur-Hans, with the intention of there choosing an encampment for the day, when suddenly a number of runaways came up shouting that all was lost, and that the enemy, falling upon our rear, had put the army to the rout. On hearing this clamour, Dumouriez hastened to the spot, returned to his rearguard, and found Miranda, the Peruvian,† and old General Duval, rallying the fugitives, and with great firmness restoring order in the ranks of the army, which some Prussian hussars had for a moment surprised and broken. The inexperience of these young troops, and the fear of treachery, which then filled all minds, rendered

* "Never was the situation of an army more desperate than at this critical period. France was within a hair's-breadth of destruction."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs.*

† See Appendix K.

panic terrors both very easy and very frequent. All, however, was retrieved, owing to the efforts of the three generals, Miranda, Duval, and Stengel, who belonged to the rearguard. The army bivouacked at Dammartin, with the hope of soon backing upon the Islettes, and thus happily terminating this perilous retreat.

Dumouriez had been for twenty hours on horseback. He alighted at six in the evening, when all at once he again heard shouts of *Sauve qui peut!* and imprecations against the generals who betrayed the soldiers, and especially against the commander-in-chief, who, it was said, had just gone over to the enemy. The artillery had put horses to the guns, and were about to seek refuge on an eminence. All the troops were confounded. Dumouriez caused large fires to be kindled, and issued orders for halting on the spot all night. Thus they passed ten hours more in mud and darkness. More than fifteen hundred fugitives, running off across the country, reported at Paris and throughout France that the army of the North, the last hope of the country, was lost, and given up to the enemy.

By the following day all was repaired. Dumouriez wrote to the National Assembly with his usual assurance. "I have been obliged to abandon the camp of Grand-Prey. The retreat was accomplished, when a panic terror seized the army. Ten thousand men fled before fifteen hundred Prussian hussars. The loss amounts to no more than fifty men and some baggage. ALL IS RETRIEVED, AND I MAKE MYSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR EVERYTHING." Nothing less was requisite to dispel the terrors of Paris and of the executive council, which was about to urge the general afresh to cross the Marne.

St. Menehould, whither Dumouriez was marching, is situated on the Aisne, one of the two rivers which encompassed the camp of Grand-Prey. Dumouriez had therefore to march along that river against the stream; but before he reached it he had to cross three deep rivulets which fall into it—the Tourbe, the Bionne, and the Auve. Beyond these rivulets was the camp which he intended to occupy. In front of St. Menehould rises a circular range of heights, three-quarters of a league in length. At their foot extend low grounds, in which the Auve forms marshes before it falls into the Aisne. These low grounds are bordered on the right by the heights of the Hyron, faced by those of La Lune, and on the left by those of Gisaucourt. In the centre of the basin are several elevations, but inferior to those of St. Menehould. The hill of Valmy is one, and it is immediately opposite to the hills of La

Lune. The highroad from Châlons to St. Menehould passes through this basin, almost in a parallel direction to the course of the Aube. It was at St. Menehould and above this basin that Dumouriez posted himself. He caused all the important positions around him to be occupied, and supporting his back against Dillon, desired him to maintain his ground against the enemy. He thus occupied the highroad to Paris upon three points—the Islettes, St. Menehould, and Châlons.

The Prussians, however, if they advanced by Grand-Prey, might leave him at St. Menehould, and get to Châlons. Dumouriez therefore ordered Dubouquet, of whose safe arrival at Châlons he had received intelligence, to place himself with his division in the camp of l'Épine, and there to collect all the recently arrived volunteers, in order to protect Châlons from a *coup de main*. He was afterwards joined by Chasot, and lastly by Beurnonville. The latter had come in sight of St. Menehould on the 15th. Seeing an army in good order, he had supposed that it was the enemy, for he could not suppose that Dumouriez, who was reported to be beaten, had so soon retrieved the disaster. Under this impression he had fallen back upon Châlons, and having there learned the real state of the case, he had returned, and on the 19th taken up the position of Maffrecourt, on the right of the camp. He had brought up these ten thousand brave fellows, whom Dumouriez had exercised for a month in the camp of Maulde, amidst a continual war of posts. Reinforced by Beurnonville and Chasot, Dumouriez could number thirty-five thousand men. Thus, owing to his firmness and presence of mind, he again found himself placed in a very strong position, and enabled to temporize for a considerable time to come. But if the enemy, getting the start, and leaving him behind, should hasten forward to Châlons, what then would become of his camp of St. Menehould? There was ground, therefore, for the same apprehensions as before, and his precautions in the camp of l'Épine were far from being capable of preventing such a danger.

Two movements were very slowly operating around him—that of Brunswick, who hesitated in his march; and that of Kellermann, who, having set out on the 4th from Metz, had not yet arrived at the specified point, though he had been a fortnight on the road. But if the tardiness of Brunswick was serviceable to Dumouriez, that of Kellermann compromised him exceedingly. Kellermann, prudent and irresolute, though very brave, had alternately advanced and retreated, according to the movements of the Prussian army; and again on the

17th. on receiving intelligence of the loss of the defiles, he had made one march backward. On the evening of the 19th, however, he had sent word to Dumouriez that he was no more than two leagues from St. Menehould. Dumouriez had reserved for him the heights of Gisaucourt, situated on his left, and commanding the road to Châlons and the stream of the Aube. He had sent him directions that in case of a battle he might deploy on the secondary heights, and advance upon Valmy, beyond the Aube. Dumouriez had not time to go and place his colleague himself. Kellermann, crossing the Aube on the night of the 19th, advanced to Valmy, in the centre of the basin, and neglected the heights of Gisaucourt, which formed the left of the camp of St. Menehould, and commanded those of La Lune, upon which the Prussians were arriving.

At this moment, in fact, the Prussians, debouching by Grand-Prey, had come in sight of the French army, and ascending the heights of La Lune, already discovered the ground on the summit of which Dumouriez was stationed. Relinquishing the intention of a rapid march upon Châlons, they rejoiced, it is said, to find the two French generals together, conceiving that they could capture both at once. Their object was to make themselves masters of the road to Châlons, to proceed to Vitry, to force Dillon at the Islettes, thus to surround St. Menehould on all sides, and to oblige the two armies to lay down their arms.

On the morning of the 20th, Kellermann, who, instead of occupying the heights of Gisaucourt, had proceeded to the centre of the basin, to the mill of Valmy, found himself commanded in front by the heights of La Lune, occupied by the enemy. On one side he had the Hyron, which the French held, but which they were liable to lose; on the other, Gisaucourt, which he had not occupied, and where the Prussians were about to establish themselves. In case he should be beaten, he would be driven into the marshes of the Aube, situated behind the mill of Valmy, and he might be utterly destroyed, before he could join Dumouriez, in the bottom of this amphitheatre. He immediately sent to his colleague for assistance. But the King of Prussia,* seeing a great bustle

* "In the course of one of the Prussian marches the King of Prussia met a young soldier with his knapsack on his back, and an old musket in his hands. 'Where are you going?' asked his Majesty. 'To fight,' replied the soldier. 'By that answer,' rejoined the monarch, 'I recognize the noblesse of France.' He saluted him and passed on. The soldier's name has since become immortal. It was François Chateaubriand, then returning from his travels in North America, to share in the dangers of the throne in his native country."—*Chateaubriand's Memoirs*.

in the French army, and conceiving that the generals designed to proceed to Châlons, resolved immediately to close the road to it, and gave orders for the attack. On the road to Châlons the Prussian advanced guard met that of Kellermann, who was with his main body on the hill of Valmy. A brisk action ensued, and the French, who were at first repulsed, were rallied, and afterwards supported by the carabineers of General Valence. From the heights of La Lune a cannonade was kept up against the mill of Valmy, and our artillery warmly returned the fire of the Prussians.

Kellermann's situation, however, was extremely perilous. His troops were confusedly crowded together on the hill of Valmy, and too much incommoded to fight there. They were cannonaded from the heights of La Lune; their left suffered severely from the fire of the Prussians on those of Gisaucourt; the Hyron, which flanked their right, was actually occupied by the French, but Clairfayt, attacking this post, with his twenty-five thousand Austrians, might take it from them. In this case, Kellermann, exposed to a fire from every side, might be driven from Valmy into the Aube, whilst it might not be in the power of Dumouriez to assist him. The latter immediately sent General Stengel with a strong division to support the French on the Hyron, and to protect the right of Valmy. He directed Beurnonville to support Stengel with sixteen battalions, and he sent Chasot with nine battalions and eight squadrons, along the Châlons road, to occupy Gisaucourt, and to flank Kellermann's left. But Chasot, on approaching Valmy, sent to Kellermann for orders, instead of advancing upon Gisaucourt, and left the Prussians time to occupy it, and to open a destructive fire from that point upon us. Kellermann, however, supported on the right and left, was enabled to maintain himself at the mill of Valmy. Unluckily a shell falling on an ammunition-waggon caused it to explode and threw the infantry into disorder. This was increased by the cannon of La Lune, and the first line began already to give way. Kellermann, perceiving this movement, hastened through the ranks, rallied them, and restored confidence. Brunswick conceived this to be a favourable moment for ascending the height and overthrowing the French troops with the bayonet.

It was now noon. A thick fog which had enveloped the two armies had cleared off. They had a distinct view of each other, and our young soldiers beheld the Prussians advancing in three columns with the assurance of veteran troops habituated to warfare. It was the first time that they found themselves to the number of one hundred thousand men on the field

of battle, and that they were about to cross bayonets. They knew not yet either themselves or the enemy, and they looked at each other with uneasiness. Kellermann went into the trenches, disposed his troops in columns with a battalion in front, and ordered them, when the Prussians should be at a certain distance, not to wait for them, but to run forward and meet them with the bayonet. Then raising his voice, he cried *Vive la nation!* His men might be brave or cowards. The cry of *Vive la nation!* however, roused their courage, and our young soldiers, catching the spirit of their commander, marched on, shouting *Vive la nation!* At this sight Brunswick, who hazarded the attack with repugnance and with considerable apprehension for the result, hesitated, halted his columns, and finally ordered them to return to the camp.

This trial was decisive. From that moment people gave credit for valour to those cobblers and those tailors of whom the emigrants said that the French army was composed. They had seen men equipped, clothed, and brave; they had seen officers decorated and full of experience; a General Duval, whose majestic stature and gray hair inspired respect; Kellermann, and lastly Dumouriez, displaying the utmost firmness and skill in presence of so superior an enemy. At this moment the French Revolution was appreciated, and that chaos, till then ridiculous, ceased to be regarded in any other light than as a terrible burst of energy.

At four o'clock Brunswick ventured upon a new attack. The firmness of our troops again disconcerted him, and again he withdrew his columns. Marching from one surprise to another, and finding all that he had been told false, the Prussian general advanced with extreme circumspection, and though fault has been found with him for not pushing the attack more briskly and overthrowing Kellermann, good judges are of opinion that he was in the right. Kellermann, supported on the right and left by the whole French army, was enabled to resist; and if Brunswick, jammed in a gorge and in an execrable country, had chanced to be beaten, he might have been utterly destroyed. Besides, he had by the result of that day occupied the road to Châlons. The French were cut off from their dépôt, and he hoped to oblige them to quit their position in a few days. He did not consider that, masters of Vitry, they were merely subjected by this circumstance to the inconvenience of a longer circuit, and to some delay in the arrival of their convoys.

Such was the celebrated battle of the 20th of September 1792, in which more than twenty thousand cannon-shot were fired,

whence it has been since called the "Cannonade of Valmy."* The loss was equal on both sides, and amounted to eight or nine hundred men for each. But gaiety and assurance reigned in the French camp, reproach and regret in that of the Prussians. It is asserted that on the very same evening the King of Prussia addressed the severest remonstrances to the emigrants, and that a great diminution was perceived in the influence of Calonne, the most presumptuous of the emigrant ministers, and the most fertile in exaggerated promises and false information.

That same night Kellermann recrossed the Aube with little noise, and encamped on the heights of Gisaucourt, which he should have occupied at first, and by which the Prussians had profited in the conflict. The Prussians remained on the heights of La Lune. At the opposite extremity was Dumouriez, and on his left, Kellermann, upon the heights of which he had just taken possession. In this singular position the French, with their faces towards France, seemed to be invading it, and the Prussians, with their backs to it, appeared to be defending the country. Here commenced, on the part of Dumouriez, a new line of conduct, full of energy and firmness, as well against the enemy as against his own officers and against the French authority. With nearly seventy thousand men, in a good camp, in no want, or at least but rarely in want of provisions, he could afford to wait. The Prussians, on the contrary, ran short. Disease began to thin their army, and in this situation they would lose a great deal by temporizing. A most inclement season, amidst a wet country and on a clayey soil, did not allow them to make any long stay. If resuming too late the energy and celebrity of the invasion, they attempted to march for Paris, Dumouriez was in force to pursue and to surround them when they should have penetrated further.

These views were replete with justice and sagacity; but

* "It is with an invading army as with an insurrection. An indecisive action is equivalent to a defeat. The affair of Valmy was merely a cannonade; the total loss on both sides did not exceed eight hundred men; the bulk of the forces on neither were drawn out; yet it produced upon the invaders consequences equivalent to the most terrible overthrow. The Duke of Brunswick no longer ventured to despise an enemy who had shown so much steadiness under a severe fire of artillery; the elevation of victory, and the self-confidence which ensures it, had passed over to the other side. Gifted with an uncommon degree of intelligence, and influenced by an ardent imagination, the French soldiers are easily depressed by defeat, but proportionally raised by success: they rapidly make the transition from one state of feeling to the other. From the cannonade of Valmy may be dated the commencement of that career of victory which carried their armies to Vienna and the Kremlin."—*Alison*.

in the camp, where the officers were tired of enduring privations, and where Kellermann was dissatisfied at being subjected to a superior authority; at Paris, where people found themselves separated from the principal army, where they could perceive nothing between them and the Prussians, and within fifteen leagues of which Hulans were seen advancing, since the forest of Argonne had been opened, they could not approve of the plan of Dumouriez. The Assembly, the council, complained of his obstinacy, and wrote him the most imperative letters to make him abandon his position and recross the Marne. The camp of Montmartre, and an army between Châlons and Paris, were the double rampart required by their terrified imaginations. "The Hulans annoy you," wrote Dumouriez; "well then, kill them. That does not concern me. I shall not change my plan for the sake of *nous ardoilles*." Entreaties and orders nevertheless continued to pour in upon him. In the camp the officers did not cease to make observations. The soldiers alone, cheered by the high spirits of the general, who took care to visit their ranks, to encourage them, and to explain to them the critical position of the Prussians, patiently endured the rain and privations. Kellermann at one time insisted on departing, and Dumouriez, like Columbus, soliciting a few days more for his equipment, was obliged to promise to decamp if in a certain number of days the Prussians did not beat a retreat.

The fine army of the allies was, in fact, in a deplorable condition. It was perishing from want, and still more from the destructive effect of dysentery. To these afflictions the plans of Dumouriez had powerfully contributed. The firing in front of the camp being deemed useless, because it tended to no result, it was agreed between the two armies that it should cease; but Dumouriez stipulated that it should be suspended on the front only. He immediately detached all his cavalry, especially that of the new levy, to scour the adjacent country in order to intercept the convoys of the enemy, who, having come by the pass of Grand-Prey and proceeded along the Aisne to follow our retreat, was obliged to make his supplies pursue the same circuitous route. Our horse took a liking to this lucrative warfare, and prosecuted it with great success.

The last days of September had now arrived. The disease in the Prussian army became intolerable, and officers were sent to the French camp to parley.* They confined them-

* "The proposals of the King of Prussia do not appear to offer a basis for a negotiation, but they demonstrate that the enemy's distress is very great, a fact sufficiently indicated by the wretchedness of their bread, the multitude

selves at first to a proposal for the exchange of prisoners. The Prussians had demanded the benefit of this exchange for the emigrants also, but this had been refused. Great politeness had been observed on both sides. From the exchange of prisoners the conversation turned to the motives of the war, and on the part of the Prussians it was almost admitted that the war was impolitic. On this occasion the character of Dumouriez was strikingly displayed. Having no longer to fight, he drew up memorials for the King of Prussia, and demonstrated how disadvantageous it was to him to ally himself with the house of Austria against France. At the same time he sent him a dozen pounds of coffee, being all that was left in both camps. His memorials, which could not fail to be appreciated, nevertheless met, as might naturally be expected, with a most unfavourable reception. Brunswick replied, in the name of the King of Prussia, by a declaration as arrogant as the first manifesto, and all negotiation was broken off. The Assembly, consulted by Dumouriez, answered, like the Roman Senate, that they would not treat with the enemy till he had quitted France.

These negotiations had no other effect than to bring calumny upon the general, who was thenceforth suspected of keeping up a secret correspondence with foreigners, and with a haughty monarch humbled by the result of the war. But such was not Dumouriez. With abundant courage and intelligence, he lacked that reserve, that dignity, which overawes men, while genius merely conciliates them. However, as the French general had foreseen, by the 15th of October the Prussian army, unable to struggle longer against want and disease, began to decamp. To Europe it was a subject of profound astonishment, of conjectures, of fables, to see so mighty, so vaunted an army, retreating before those raw artisans and tradesmen who were to have been led back with drums beating to their towns, and punished for having quitted them. The sluggishness with which the Prussians were pursued, and the kind of impunity which they enjoyed in repassing the defiles of the Argonne, led to the supposition of secret

of their sick, and the languor of their attacks. I am persuaded that the King of Prussia is now heartily sorry at being so far in advance, and would readily adopt any means to extricate himself from his embarrassment. He keeps so near me, from a wish to engage us in a combat as the only means he has of escaping; for if I keep within my entrenchments eight days longer, his army will dissolve of itself from want of provisions. I will undertake no serious negotiation without your authority, and without receiving from you the basis on which it is to be conducted. All that I have hitherto done is to gain time, and commit no one."

— *Dumouriez's Despatch to the French Government.*

stipulations, and even of a bargain with the King of Prussia. The military facts will account for the retreat of the allies better than all these suppositions.

It was no longer possible for them to remain in so unfortunate a position. To continue the invasion in a season so far advanced and so inclement would be most injudicious. The only resource of the allies then was to retreat towards Luxembourg and Lorraine, and there to make themselves a strong base of operations for recommencing the campaign in the following year. There is, moreover, reason to believe that at this moment Frederick William was thinking of taking his share of Poland; for it was then that this Prince, after exciting the Poles against Russia and Austria, prepared to share the spoil. Thus the state of the season and of the country, disgust arising from a foiled enterprise, regret at having allied himself with the house of Austria against France, and lastly, new interests in the North, were, with the King of Prussia, motives sufficient to determine his retreat. It was conducted in the best order, for the enemy who thus consented to depart was nevertheless very strong.* To attempt absolutely to cut off his retreat, and to oblige him to open himself a passage by a victory, would have been an imprudence which Dumouriez would not commit. He was obliged to content himself with harassing him; but this he did with too little activity, through his own fault and that of Kellermann.

The danger was past, the campaign was over, and each reverted to himself and his projects. Dumouriez thought of his enterprise against the Netherlands. Kellermann of his command at Metz, and the two generals did not pay to the pursuit of the Prussians that attention which it deserved. Dumouriez sent General d'Harville to the Chêne-Populeux

* "The force with which the Prussians retired was about 70,000 men, and their retreat was conducted throughout in the most imposing manner, taking position, and facing about on occasion of every halt. Verdun and Longwy were successively abandoned. On getting possession of the ceded fortresses, the commissaries of the Convention took a bloody revenge on the royalist party. Several young women who had presented garlands of flowers to the King of Prussia during the advance of his army were sent to the revolutionary tribunal, and condemned to death. The Prussians left behind them on their route most melancholy proofs of the disasters of the campaign. All the villages were filled with the dead and dying. Without any considerable fighting, the allies had lost by dysentery and fevers more than a fourth of their numbers."—*Alison*.

"The Prussians had engaged in this campaign as if it had been a review, in which light it had been represented to them by the emigrants. They were unprovided with stores or provisions; instead of an unprotected country, they found daily a more vigorous resistance; the continual rains had laid open the roads; the soldiers marched in mud up to their knees; and for four days together they had no other nourishment than boiled corn."—*Mignet*.

to chastise the emigrants ; ordered General Miaczinski to wait for them at Stenay as they issued from the pass, to complete their destruction ; sent Chasot in the same direction to occupy the Longwy road ; placed Generals Beurnonville, Stengel, and Valence, with more than twenty-five thousand men, on the rear of the grand army, to pursue it with vigour ; and at the same time directed Dillon, who had continued to maintain his ground most successfully at the Islettes, to advance by Clermont and Varennes, in order to cut off the road to Verdun.

These plans were certainly excellent, but they ought to have been executed by the general himself. He ought, in the opinion of a very sound and competent judge, M. Jomini, to have dashed straight forward to the Rhine, and then to have descended it with his whole army. In that moment of success, overthrowing everything before him, he would have conquered Belgium in a single march. But he was thinking of returning to Paris to prepare for an invasion by way of Lille. The three generals Beurnonville, Stengel, and Valence, on their part, did not agree very cordially together, and pursued the Prussians but faintly. Valence, who was under the command of Kellermann, all at once received orders to return, to rejoin his general at Châlons, and then to take the road to Metz. This movement, it must be confessed, was a strange conception, since it brought Kellermann back into the interior, to make him thence resume the route to the Lorraine frontier. The natural route would have been forward by Vitry or Clermont, and it would have accorded with the pursuit of the Prussians, as ordered by Dumouriez. No sooner was the latter apprized of the order given to Valence than he enjoined him to continue his march, saying that, so long as the armies of the North and centre were united, the supreme command belonged to himself alone. He remonstrated very warmly with Kellermann, who relinquished his first determination, and consented to take his route by St. Menchould and Clermont. The pursuit, however, was continued with as little spirit as before. Dillon alone harassed the Prussians with impetuous ardour, and by pursuing them too vigorously he had very nearly brought on an engagement.

The dissension of the generals, and the particular views which occupied their minds after the danger had passed, were evidently the only cause that procured the Prussians so easy a retreat. It has been alleged that their departure was purchased ; that it was paid for by the produce of a great robbery, of which we shall presently give an account ; that it was

concerted with Dumouriez; and that one of the stipulations of the bargain was the free retreat of the Prussians; and lastly, that Louis XVI. had from the recesses of his prison insisted upon it. We have seen what very sufficient reasons must have occasioned this retreat; but besides these, there are other reasons. It is not credible that a monarch whose vices were not those of a base cupidity would submit to be bought. We cannot see why, in case of a convention, Dumouriez should not have justified himself in the eyes of military men, for not having pursued the enemy, by avowing a convention in which there was nothing disgraceful to himself: lastly, Clery, the King's valet-de-chambre, asserts that nothing like the letter said to have been addressed by Louis XVI. to Frederick William, and transmitted by Manuel, the *procureur* of the commune, was ever written and delivered to the latter.* All this, then, is a falsehood; and the retreat of the allies was but a natural effect of the war. Dumouriez, notwithstanding his faults, notwithstanding his distractions at Grand-Prey, notwithstanding his negligence at the moment of the retreat, was still the saviour of France, and of a Revolution which has perhaps advanced Europe several centuries. It was he who, assuming the command of a disorganized, distrustful, irritated army, infusing into it harmony and confidence, establishing unity and vigour along that whole frontier, never despairing amidst the most disastrous circumstances, holding forth, after the loss of the defiles, an example of unparalleled presence of mind, persisting in his first ideas of temporizing, in spite of the danger, in spite of his army, and in spite of his government, in a manner which demonstrates the vigour of his judgment and of his character—it was he, we say, who saved our country from foreign foes and from counter-revolutionary resentment, and set the magnificent example of a man saving his fellow-citizens in spite of themselves. Conquest, however vast, is neither more glorious nor more moral.

* "It has been reported that Manuel came to the Temple in the month of September, in order to prevail upon his Majesty to write to the King of Prussia at the time he marched his army into Champagne. I can testify that Manuel came but twice to the Temple while I was there, first on the 3rd of September, then on the 7th of October; that each time he was accompanied by a great number of municipal officers; and that he never had any private conversation with the King."—*Clery*.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ASSEMBLING AND OPENING OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION— INVASION OF BELGIUM.

WHILE the French armies were stopping the march of the allies, Paris was still the theatre of disturbance and confusion. We have already witnessed the excesses of the commune, the prolonged atrocities of September, the impotence of the authorities, and the inactivity of the public force, during those disastrous days. We have seen with what audacity the committee of *surveillance* had avowed the massacres, and recommended the imitation of them to all the other communes in France. The commissioners sent by the commune had, however, been everywhere repelled, because France did not participate in that fury which danger had excited in the capital. But in the environs of Paris all the murders were not confined to those of which we have already given an account. There had been formed in that city a band of assassins whom the massacres of September had familiarized with blood, and who were bent on spilling more. Some hundreds of men had already set out with the intention of taking out of the prisons of Orleans the persons accused of high treason. A recent decree had directed that those unfortunate prisoners should be conveyed to Saumur. Their destination was, however, changed by the way, and they were brought towards Paris.

On the 9th of September intelligence was received that they were to arrive on the 10th at Versailles. Whether fresh orders had been given to the band of murderers, or the tidings of this arrival were sufficient to excite their sanguinary ardour, they immediately repaired to Versailles on the night between the 9th and 10th. A rumour was instantly circulated that fresh massacres were about to be committed. The mayor of Versailles took every precaution to prevent new atrocities. The president of the criminal tribunal hastened to Paris, to inform Danton, the minister, of the danger which threatened the prisoners; but to all his representations he obtained no

other answer than "Those men are very guilty." "Granted," rejoined Alquier, the president; "but the law alone ought to punish them." "Do you not see," resumed Danton, "that I would already have answered you in another manner if I could? Why do you concern yourself about these prisoners? Return to your functions, and trouble your head no more with them."

On the following day the prisoners arrived at Versailles. A crowd of strange men rushed upon the carriages, surrounded and separated them from the escort, knocked Fournier, the commandant, from his horse, carried off the mayor, who had nobly determined to die at his post, and slaughtered the unfortunate prisoners to the number of fifty-two. There perished Delessart and d'Abancour, placed under accusation as ministers, and Brissac, as commander of the constitutional guard disbanded in the time of the Legislative Assembly. Immediately after this execution the murderers ran to the prison of the town, and renewed the scenes of the first days of September, employing the same means, and copying, as in Paris, the judicial forms.* This event, happening within five days of the first, increased the general consternation which already prevailed. In Paris the committee of *surveillance* did not abate its activity. As the prisons had been just cleared by death, it began to fill them again by issuing fresh orders of arrest. These orders were so numerous that Roland, minister of the interior, in denouncing to the Assembly these new arbitrary acts, had from five to six hundred of them to lay on the bureau, some signed by a single individual, others by two or three at most, the greater part of them without any alleged motives, and many founded on the bare suspicion of *incivism*.

While the commune was exercising its power in Paris it

* "As soon as the prisoners reached the Grand Square at Versailles, ten or twelve men laid hold of the reins of the horses in the first waggon, crying out, 'Off with their heads!' There were a few curious spectators in the streets, but the whole escort was under arms. Fifteen assassins surrounded and attacked the first waggon, renewing the cries of death. The public functionary, who had taken this waggon under his care, was the mayor of Versailles. He attempted, but in vain, to harangue the murderers; in vain did he get up into the waggon, and use some efforts to guard and cover with his own person the two first of the prisoners who were killed. The assassins, masters of the field of slaughter, killed one after another, with their swords and hangers, forty-seven out of fifty-three of the prisoners. This massacre lasted for at least an hour and a quarter. The dead bodies experienced the same indignities as those of the persons who had been massacred at the Abbey prison and in the Tuileries. Their heads and limbs were cut off, and fixed upon the iron rails round the palace of Versailles. When the assassins thought they had despatched all those who were accused of treason against the State, they betook themselves to the prison at Versailles, where they killed about twelve persons."—*Peltier*.

despatched commissioners to the departments, for the purpose of justifying its conduct, advising the imitation of its example, recommending to the electors deputies of its own choice, and decrying those who were averse from it in the Legislative Assembly. It afterwards secured immense funds for itself by seizing the money found in the possession of Septeuil, the treasurer of the civil list, the plate of the churches, and the rich movables of the emigrants, and lastly, by drawing considerable sums from the exchequer, under the pretext of keeping up the fund of aids (*caisse de secours*) and completing the works of the camp. All the effects of the unfortunate persons murdered in the prisons of Paris and on the road to Versailles had been sequestered and deposited in the extensive halls of the committee of *surveillance*. Never would the commune furnish any statement either of those articles or their value, and it even refused to give any answer concerning them, either to the minister of the interior, or to the directory of the department, which, as we have seen, had been converted into a mere commission of contributions. It went still further, and began to sell on its own authority the furniture of the great mansions, to which seals had been affixed ever since the departure of the owners. To no purpose did the superior administration issue prohibitions. The whole class of the subordinate functionaries charged with the execution of its orders either belonged to the municipality, or was too weak to act. The orders, therefore, were not carried into execution.

The national guard, composed anew under the denomination of armed sections, and full of all sorts of men, was in a state of complete disorganization. Sometimes it lent a hand to mischief, and at others suffered it to be committed by neglect. Posts were totally abandoned, because the men on duty, not being relieved even at the expiration of forty-eight hours, retired worn out with fatigue and disgust. All the peaceable citizens had withdrawn from that body, once so regular and so useful; and Santerre, its commander, possessed neither energy nor intelligence sufficient to reorganize it.

The safety of Paris was thus abandoned to chance, and the commune on one hand, and the populace on the other, had full scope to do what they pleased. Among the spoils of royalty, the most valuable, and consequently the most coveted, were those kept at the Garde Meuble, the rich depôt of all the effects which formerly contributed to the splendour of the throne. Ever since the 10th of August it had excited the cupidity of the multitude, and more than one circumstance had sharpened the vigilance of the inspector of the establishment. He had sent

requisition after requisition for the purpose of obtaining a sufficient guard; but whether from disorder, or from the difficulty of supplying all the posts, or lastly, from wilful negligence, he had not been furnished with the force that he demanded.

One night the Garde Meuble was robbed, and the greater part of its contents passed into unknown hands, which the authorities afterwards made useless efforts to discover. This new event was attributed to the persons who had secretly directed the massacres. In this case, however, they could not have been impelled either by fanaticism or by a sanguinary policy; and the ordinary motive of theft can scarcely be ascribed to them, since they had in the stores of the commune wherewithal to satisfy the highest ambition. It has been said, indeed, that this robbery was committed for the purpose of paying for the retreat of the King of Prussia, which is absurd, and to defray the expenses of the party, which is more probable, but by no means proved. At any rate the robbery at the Garde Meuble is of very little consequence in regard to the judgment that must be passed upon the commune and its leaders. It is not the less true that the commune, as the depository of property of immense value, never rendered any account of it; that the seals affixed upon the closets were broken without the locks being forced, which indicates a secret abstraction and not a popular pillage; and that all these valuables disappeared for ever. Part was impudently stolen by subalterns, such as Sergeant, surnamed *Agate*, from a superb jewel with which he adorned himself; and another part served to defray the expense of the extraordinary government which the commune had instituted. It was a war waged against the old order of things, and every such war is sullied with murder and pillage.

Such was the state of Paris while the elections for the National Convention were going forward. It was from this new Assembly that the upright citizens expected the means and energy requisite for restoring order. They hoped that the forty days of confusion and crimes which had elapsed since the 10th of August would be but an accident of the insurrection—a deplorable but transitory accident. The very deputies, sitting with such feebleness in the National Assembly, deferred the exercise of energy till the meeting of that Convention—the common hope of all parties.

A warm interest was taken in the elections throughout France. The clubs exercised a powerful influence over them. The Jacobins of Paris had printed and distributed a list of all

the votes given during the legislative session, that it might serve as a guide to the electors. The deputies who had voted against the laws desired by the popular party, and those in particular who had acquitted Lafayette, were especially distinguished. In the provinces, however, to which the animosities of the capital had not yet penetrated, Girondins, and even such of them as were most odious to the agitators of Paris, were chosen on account of the talents which they had displayed. Almost all the members of the late Assembly were re-elected. Many of the constituents whom the decree of non-re-election had excluded from the first Legislature were called to form part of this Convention. In the number were distinguished Buzot and Petion. Among the new members naturally figured men noted in their departments for their energy or their violence, or writers who, like Louvet, had acquired reputation by their talents both in the capital and in the provinces.

In Paris the violent faction which had domineered ever since the 10th of August seized the control over the elections, and brought forward all the men of its choice. Robespierre and Danton were the first elected. The Jacobins and the council of the commune hailed this intelligence with applause. After them were elected Camille Desmoulins, celebrated for his writings; David* for his pictures; Fabre-d'Eglantine† for his comic works and an active participation in the revolutionary disturbances; Legendre, Panis, Sergent, and Billaud-Varennés for their conduct at the commune. To these were added Manuel, the *procurateur syndic*; the younger Robespierre, brother of the celebrated Maximilien; Collot-d'Herbois,‡ formerly an actor; and the Duc d'Orléans, who had relinquished his titles and called himself Philippe Egalité. Lastly, after all these names there was seen with astonishment that of old Dussaulx, one of the electors of 1789, who had so strongly opposed the fury of the mob, and shed so many tears over its atrocities, and who was re-elected from a last remembrance of '89, and as a kind, inoffensive creature to all parties.

In this strange list there was only wanting the cynical and sanguinary Marat. This singular man had, from the boldness of his writings, something about him that was surprising even to those who had just witnessed the events of September. Chabot, the Capuchin, who by his energy bore sway at the Jacobins, and there sought triumphs which were refused him in the Legislative Assembly, was obliged to step forth as the apologist of Marat; and as everything was discussed before-

* See Appendix L.

† See Appendix M.

‡ See Appendix N.

hand at the Jacobins, his election, proposed there, was soon consummated in the electoral assembly. Marat, Freron,* another journalist, and a few more obscure individuals, completed that famous deputation, which, embracing mercantile men, a butcher, an actor, an engraver, a painter, a lawyer, three or four writers, and an abdicated prince, correctly represented the confusion and the various classes which were struggling in the immense capital of France.

The deputies arrived successively in Paris, and in proportion as their number increased, and the days which had produced such profound terror became more remote, people began to muster courage and to exclaim against the excesses of the capital. The fear of the enemy was diminished by the attitude of Dumouriez in the Argonne. Hatred of the aristocrats was converted into pity since the horrible sacrifice of them at Paris and Versailles. These atrocities, which had found so many mistaken approvers or so many timid censurers—these atrocities, rendered still more hideous by the robbery which had just been added to murder, excited general reprobation. The Girondins, indignant at so many crimes, and exasperated by the personal oppression to which they had been subjected for a whole month, became more firm and more energetic. Resplendent by their talents and courage in the eyes of France, invoking justice and humanity, they could not but have public opinion in their favour, and they already began loudly to threaten their adversaries with its influence.

If, however, all alike condemned the outrages perpetrated in Paris, they did not all feel and excite those personal resentments which embitter party animosities. Possessing intelligence and talents, Brissot produced considerable effect, but he had neither sufficient personal consideration nor sufficient ability to be the leader of a party, and the hatred of Robespierre aggrandized him by imputing to him that character. When on the days preceding the insurrection the Girondins wrote a letter to Bose, the King's painter, the rumour of a treaty was circulated, and it was asserted that Brissot was going to set out for London laden with money. The rumour was unfounded; but Marat, with whom the slightest and even the falsest reports were a sufficient ground for accusation, had nevertheless issued an order for the apprehension of Brissot at the time of the general imprisonment of the alleged conspirators of the 10th of August. A great sensation was the consequence, and the order had not been carried into effect.

* See Appendix O.



The Jacobins nevertheless persisted in asserting that Brissot had sold himself to Brunswick. Robespierre repeated and believed this, so disposed was his warped judgment to believe those guilty who were hateful to him. Louvet had equally excited his hatred for making himself second to Brissot at the Jacobins, and in the *Journal de la Sentinelle*, Louvet, possessing extraordinary talent and boldness, made direct attacks upon individuals. His virulent personalities, renewed every day through the channel of a journal, made him the most dangerous and the most detested enemy of Robespierre's party.

Roland, the minister, had displeased the whole Jacobin and municipal party by his courageous letter of the 3rd of September, and by his resistance to the encroachments of the commune; but he had never been the rival of any individual, and excited no other anger than that of opinion. He had personally offended none but Danton, by opposing him in the council, and there was but little danger in so doing, for, of all men living, Danton was the one whose resentment was least to be dreaded. But in the person of Roland it was his wife who was principally detested—his wife, a proud, severe, courageous, clever woman, rallying around her those highly cultivated and brilliant Girondins, animating them by her looks, rewarding them with her esteem, and keeping up in her circle, along with republican simplicity, a politeness hateful to vulgar and obscure men. These already strove to make Roland the butt of their low ridicule. His wife, they said, governed for him, directed his friends, and even recompensed them with her favours. Marat, in his ignoble language, styled her the *Circé* of the party.*

Guadet, Vergniaud, and Gensonné, though they had shed great lustre on the Legislative Assembly, and opposed the Jacobin party, had nevertheless not yet roused all the animosity which they subsequently excited. Guadet had even pleased the energetic republicans by his bold attacks upon Lafayette and the Court. Guadet, ardent and ever ready to dash forward, could display at one moment the utmost vehemence, and in the next the greatest coolness; and, master of himself in the tribune, he distinguished himself there by his seasonable and

* "To a very beautiful person Madame Roland united great powers of intellect; her reputation stood very high, and her friends never spoke of her but with the most profound respect. In character she was a Cornelia; and had she been blessed with sons, would have educated them like the Gracchi. The simplicity of her dress did not detract from her natural grace and elegance; and while her pursuits were more adapted to the other sex, she adorned them with all the charms of her own. Her personal memoirs are admirable. They are an imitation of Rousseau's Confessions, and often not unworthy of the original."—*Dumont*.

spirit-stirring harangues. Accordingly he, like all other men, could not but delight in an exercise in which he excelled, nay, even abuse it, and take too much pleasure in launching out against a party which was soon destined to stop his mouth by death.

Vergniaud had not gained so much favour with violent spirits as Guadet, because he had not shown such hostility to the Court, but on the other hand, he had run less risk of offending them, because in his ease and carelessness he had not jostled others so much as his friend Guadet. So little was this speaker under the sway of the passions that they allowed him to take his nap quietly amidst the contentions of parties, and as they did not urge him to outstrip others, they exposed him but little to their hatred. He was, however, by no means indifferent. He had a noble heart, a sound and lucid understanding, and the sluggish fire of his being, kindling it at times, warmed and elevated him to the most sublime energy. He had not the same briskness of repartee as Guadet, but he became animated in the tribune, where he poured forth a torrent of eloquence; and owing to the flexibility of an extraordinary voice, he delivered his thoughts with a facility and a fecundity of expression unequalled by any other member. The elocution of Mirabeau was, like his character, coarse and unequal; that of Vergniaud, always elegant and noble, became with circumstances grand and energetic. But all the exhortations of Roland's wife were not always capable of rousing this champion, frequently disgusted with mankind, frequently opposed to the imprudence of his friends, and above all, by no means convinced of the utility of words against force.

Gensonné, full of good sense and integrity, but endowed with a moderate facility of expression, and capable only of drawing up good reports, had not as yet distinguished himself in the tribune. Strong passions, however, and an obstinate character, could not but gain him considerable influence among his friends, and from his enemies that hatred which is always excited more by a man's character than by his talents.

Condorcet, once a marquis, and always a philosopher, a man of elevated mind, an unbiassed judge of the faults of his party, unqualified for the terrible agitations of democracy, and who had taken no pains to push himself forward, had as yet no direct enemy on his own account, and reserved himself for all those kinds of labour which required profound meditation.

Buzot,* endued with good sense, elevation of soul, and

* See Appendix P.

courage, combining a firm and simple elocution with a handsome face, awed the passions by the nobleness of his person, and exercised the greatest moral ascendancy on all around him.

Barbaroux, elected by his fellow-citizens, had just arrived from the South with one of his friends, like himself, a deputy to the National Convention. The name of this friend was Rebecqui. With a mind but little cultivated, he was bold and enterprising, and wholly devoted to Barbaroux. It will be recollected that the latter worshipped Roland and Petion, that he looked upon Marat as an atrocious maniac, and Robespierre as an ambitious man, especially ever since Petion had proposed the latter to him as an indispensable dictator. Disgusted with the crimes committed during his absence, he was ready to impute them to men whom he already detested, and he spoke out immediately after his arrival with an energy which rendered reconciliation impossible. Inferior to his friends in the qualities of mind, but endued with intelligence and facility, handsome, heroic, he vented himself in threats, and in a few days drew upon himself as much hatred as those who during the whole existence of the Legislative Assembly had never ceased to wound opinions and their holders.

The person around whom the whole party rallied, and who then enjoyed universal respect, was Petion. Mayor during the Legislature, he had by his struggle with the Court gained immense popularity. He had, it is true, on the 9th of August preferred deliberation to combat: he had since declared against the deeds of September, and had separated himself from the commune, as did Bailly in 1790; but this quiet and silent opposition, without embroiling him still more with the faction, had rendered him formidable to it. Possessing an enlarged understanding and a calm mind, speaking but seldom, and never pretending to rival any one in talent, he exercised over all, and over Robespierre himself, the ascendancy of a cool, equitable, and universally respected reason. Though a reputed Girondin, all the parties were anxious for his suffrage. All feared him, and in the new Assembly he had in his favour not only the right side, but the whole central mass, and even many of the members of the left side.

Such then was the situation of the Girondins in presence of the Parisian faction. They possessed the public opinion, which condemned the late excesses; they had gained a great part of the deputies who were daily arriving in Paris; they had all the ministers, excepting Danton, who frequently governed the council, but did not employ his power against them: lastly,

they could boast of having at their head the mayor of Paris, than whom none was at the moment more highly respected. But in Paris they were not at home. They were in the midst of their enemies, and they had to apprehend the violence of the lower classes, which were agitated beneath them, and above all, the violence of the future, which was soon to increase along with the revolutionary passions.

The first reproach levelled at them was that they wanted to sacrifice Paris. A design of seeking refuge in the departments and beyond the Loire had already been imputed to them. The wrongs done them by Paris having been aggravated since the 2nd and 3rd of September, they were moreover accused of an intention to forsake it; and it was alleged that they wished to assemble the Convention in some other place. These suspicions, gradually arranging themselves, assumed a more regular form. It was pretended that the Girondins were desirous to break the national unity, and to form out of the eighty-three departments as many states, all equal among themselves, and united by a mere federative compact. It was added that by this measure they meant to destroy the supremacy of Paris, and to secure for themselves a personal domination in their respective departments. Then it was that the calumny of federalism was devised. It is true that when France was threatened with invasion by the Prussians they had thought of entrenching themselves, in case of necessity, in the southern departments; it is likewise true that on beholding the atrocities and tyranny of Paris they had sometimes turned their eyes to the departments; but between this point and the plan of a federative system there was a very great distance. And besides, as all the difference between a federative government and a single and central government consists in the greater or less energy of the local institutions, the crime of such an idea was extremely vague, if it had any existence.

The Girondins, perceiving nothing culpable in this idea, did not disavow it; and many of them, indignant at the absurd manner in which this system was condemned, asked if, after all, the new American States, Holland, and Switzerland, were not free and happy under a federative government, and if there would be any great error, any mighty crime, in preparing a similar lot for France. Buzot, in particular, frequently maintained this doctrine; and Brissot, a warm admirer of the Americans, likewise defended it, rather as a philosophic opinion than as a project applicable to France. These conversations, being divulged, gave greater weight to the calumny of federalism. At the Jacobins the question of a federal system was

gravely discussed, and a thousand furious passions were kindled against the Girondins. It was alleged that they wished to destroy the fasces of the revolutionary power, to take from it that unity which constituted its strength; and this for the purpose of making themselves kings in their respective provinces.

The Girondins, on their part, replied by reproaches in which there was more reality, but which unfortunately were likewise exaggerated, and which lost in force in proportion as they lost in truth. They reproached the commune with having made itself the supreme authority, with having by its usurpations encroached on the national sovereignty, and with having arrogated to itself alone a power which belonged only to entire France. They reproached it with a design to rule the Convention in the same manner as it had oppressed the Legislative Assembly. They declared that it would be unsafe for the national representatives to sit beside it, and that they would be sitting amidst the murderers of September. They accused it of having dishonoured the Revolution during the forty days succeeding the 10th of August, and with having selected for deputies of Paris none but men who had signalized themselves during those horrible saturnalia.

So far all was true. But they added reproaches as vague as those which the federalists addressed to themselves. Marat, Danton, and Robespierre were loudly accused of aspiring to the supreme power: Marat, because he was daily urging in his writings the necessity for a dictator, who should lop off from society the impure members who corrupted it; Robespierre, because he had dogmatized at the commune, and spoken with insolence to the Assembly, and because, on the evening before the 10th of August, Páris had proposed him to Barbaroux as dictator: lastly, Danton, because he exercised over the ministry, over the people, and wherever he appeared, the influence of a mighty being. They were called the triumvirs, and yet they had no sort of connection with each other. Marat was but a systematic madman. Robespierre was as yet but a jealous, for he had not the greatness of mind to be an ambitious, man. Danton, finally, was an active man, zealously intent on promoting the aim of the Revolution, and who meddled with everything, rather from ardour than from personal ambition. But in none of these men was there yet either a usurper or a conspirator in understanding with the others: and it was imprudent to give to adversaries already stronger than the accusers the advantage of being accused unjustly. The Girondins, however, showed much less bitterness against Danton, because

there had never been anything personal between themselves and him; and they despised Marat too much to attack him directly; but they fell foul of Robespierre without mercy, because they were more exasperated by the success of what was called his virtue and his eloquence. Against him they entertained that resentment which is felt by real superiority against proud and too highly extolled mediocrity.

An attempt to bring about a better understanding was nevertheless made before the opening of the National Convention, and several meetings were held, in which it was proposed that the different parties should frankly explain themselves, and put an end to mischievous disputes. Danton entered sincerely into this arrangement, because he carried with him no pride, and desired above all things the success of the Revolution; Petion showed great coolness and sound reason; but Robespierre was peevish as an injured man. The Girondins were haughty and severe, as innocent persons, who feel that they have been offended, and conceive that they hold in their hands the sure power of revenge. Barbaroux said that any alliance *between crime and virtue* was utterly impossible; and all the parties were much further from a reconciliation when they separated than before they met. All the Jacobins rallied round Robespierre; the Girondins, and the prudent and moderate mass, round Petion. It was recommended by the latter and by all sensible persons to drop all accusation, since it was impossible to discover the authors of the massacres of September and of the robbery at the Garde Meublée; to say no more about the triumvirs, because their ambition was neither sufficiently proved nor sufficiently manifest to be punished; to despise the score of bad characters introduced into the Assembly by the elections of Paris; and lastly, to lose no time in fulfilling the object of the Convention by forming a constitution and deciding the fate of Louis XVI.

Such were the sentiments of men of cool minds; but others less calm devised, as usual, plans which, as they could not yet be put in execution, were attended with the danger of warning and irritating their adversaries. They proposed to cashier the municipality, to remove the Convention in case of need, to transfer its seat from Paris to some other place, to constitute it a court of justice for the purpose of trying the conspirators without appeal, and lastly, to raise a particular guard for it selected from the eighty-three departments. These plans led to no result, and served only to irritate the passions. The Girondins relied upon the public feeling, which, in their opinion, would be roused by the strain of their eloquence and

by the recital of the crimes which they should have to denounce. They appointed the tribune of the Convention for their place of rendezvous, for the purpose of crushing their adversaries.

At length, on the 20th of September, the deputies to the Convention met at the Tuileries, in order to constitute the new Assembly. Their number being sufficient, they constituted themselves *ad interim*, verified their powers, and immediately proceeded to the nomination of the bureau. Petion was almost unanimously proclaimed President; Brissot, Condorcet, Rabaud St. Etienne, Lasource, Vergniaud, and Camus were elected secretaries. These appointments prove what influence the Girondin party then possessed in the Assembly.

The Legislative Assembly, which had sat permanently ever since the 10th of August, was apprized on the 21st by a deputation that the National Convention was formed, and that the Legislature was dissolved. The two Assemblies had but to blend themselves into one, and the Convention took possession of the hall of the Legislative Assembly.

On the 21st, Manuel, *procureur syndic* of the commune, suspended after the 20th of June, with Petion, who had become highly popular in consequence of this suspension, and who had then enlisted among the furious spirits of the commune, but afterwards withdrawn from them and joined the Girondins at the sight of the massacres at the Abbaye—Manuel made a motion which excited a strong sensation among the enemies of the Gironde. "Citizens, representatives," said he, "in this place everything ought to be stamped with a character of such dignity and grandeur as to fill the world with awe. I propose that the *President of France* have the national palace of the Tuileries assigned for his residence, that he be preceded by the public force and the insignia of the law, and that the citizens rise at his appearance." At these words, Chabot the Jacobin, and Tallien, secretary of the commune, inveighed with vehemence against this ceremonial, borrowed from royalty. Chabot said that the representatives of the people ought to assimilate themselves to the citizens from whose ranks they issued, to the *sans-culottes*, who formed the majority of the nation. Tallien added that they ought to go to a fifth story in quest of a president, for it was there that genius and virtue dwelt. Manuel's motion was consequently rejected, and the enemies of the Gironde alleged that that party wished to decree sovereign honours to Petion, its chief.

This proposition was succeeded by a great number of others without interruption. In all quarters there was a desire

to ascertain by authentic declarations the sentiments which animated the Assembly and France. It was required that the new constitution should have absolute equality for its foundation; that the sovereignty of the people should be decreed; that hatred should be sworn to royalty, to a dictatorship, to a triumvirate, to every individual authority; and that the penalty of death should be decreed against any one who should propose such a form of government. Danton put an end to all the motions by causing a decree to be passed, declaring that the new constitution should not be valid till it had been sanctioned by the people. It was added that the existing laws should continue in force *ad interim*, that the authorities not superseded should be meanwhile retained, and that the taxes should be raised as heretofore till new systems of contribution were introduced. After these motions and decrees, Manuel, Collot-d'Herbois, and Gregoire brought forward the question of royalty, and insisted that its abolition should be forthwith pronounced. The people, said they, has just been declared sovereign, but it will not be really so till you have delivered it from a rival authority—that of kings. The Assembly, the tribunes, rose to express their unanimous reprobation of royalty. Bazire, however, wished, he said, for a solemn discussion of so important a question. "What need is there for discussion," replied Gregoire, "when all are agreed? Courts are the hotbed of crime, the focus of corruption; the history of kings is the martyrology of nations. Since we are all equally penetrated with these truths, what need is there for discussion?"

The discussion was accordingly closed. Profound silence ensued, and by the unanimous desire of the Assembly the president declared that royalty was abolished in France. This decree was hailed with universal applause; it was ordered to be published forthwith, and sent to the armies and to all the municipalities.*

* "On the 21st of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Lubin, a municipal officer, attended by horsemen and a great mob, came before the Tower to make a proclamation. Trumpets were sounded, and a dead silence ensued. Lubin's voice was of the stentorian kind. The royal family could distinctly hear the proclamation of the abolition of royalty, and of the establishment of a republic. Hebert, so well known by the name of Père-Duchêne, and Destournelles, since made minister of the public contributions, were then on guard over the family. They were sitting at the time near the door, and rudely stared the King in the face. The monarch perceived it, but having a book in his hand, continued to read, without suffering the smallest alteration to appear in his countenance. The Queen displayed equal resolution. At the end of the proclamation the trumpets sounded again, and I went to the window. The eyes of the populace were immediately turned upon me; I was taken for my royal master, and overwhelmed with abuse. The same evening I informed the

When this institution of the republic was proclaimed, the Prussians were still threatening the French territory. Dumouriez, as we have seen, had proceeded to St. Menchould, and the cannonade of the 21st, so favourable to our arms, was not yet known in Paris. On the following day, the 22nd, Billaud-Varennes proposed not to date any longer the year 4 of liberty, but the year 1 of the republic. This motion was adopted. The year 1789 was no longer considered as having commenced liberty, and the new republican era began on that very day, the 22nd of September 1792.

In the evening the news of the cannonade of Valmy arrived, and diffused general joy. On the petition of the citizens of Orleans, who complained of their magistrates, it was decreed that there should be a new election of members of the administrative bodies and of the tribunals, and that the conditions of eligibility fixed by the constitution of 1791 should be considered as null. It was no longer necessary to select judges from among the lawyers, or administrators from a certain class of proprietors. The Legislative Assembly had already abolished the marc of silver, and extended the electoral qualification to all citizens who had attained the age of majority.

The Convention now removed the last demarcations, by calling all the citizens to all the functions of every kind. Thus was introduced the system of absolute equality.*

King that curtains and more clothes were wanting for the Dauphin's bed, as the weather began to be cold. He desired me to write the demand for them, which he signed. I used the same expressions that I had hitherto done—'The King requires for his son,' and so forth. 'It is a great piece of assurance in you,' said Destournelles, 'thus to persist in a title abolished by the will of the people, as you have just heard.' I replied that I had heard a proclamation, but was unacquainted with the object of it. 'It is,' rejoined he, 'for the abolition of royalty, and you may tell the *gentleman*'—pointing to the King—'to give over taking a title no longer acknowledged by the people.' I told him I could not alter this note which was already signed, as the King would ask me the reason, and it was not my part to tell him. 'You will do as you like,' continued Destournelles, 'but I shall not certify the demand.'—*Clery*.

* "The name of citizen was now the universal salutation among all classes. Even when a deputy spoke to a shoeblack, that symbol of equality was regularly exchanged between them; and in the ordinary intercourse of society there was a ludicrous affectation of republican brevity and simplicity. 'When thou conquerest Brussels,' said Collot-d'Herbois, the actor, to General Dumouriez, 'my wife, who is in that city, has permission to reward thee with a kiss.' Three weeks afterwards the general took Brussels, but he was ungallant enough not to profit by this flattering permission. His quick wit caught the ridicule of such an ejaculation as that which Camus addressed to him. 'Citizen-general,' said the deputy, 'thou dost meditate the part of Cæsar; but remember, I will be Brutus, and plunge a poniard into thy bosom.' 'My dear Camus,' replied the lively soldier, who had been in worse dangers than were involved in this classical threat, 'I am no more like Cæsar than you are like Brutus; and an assurance that I should live till you kill me would be equal to a brevet of immortality.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

On the 23rd all the ministers were heard. Cambon, the deputy, made a report on the state of the finances. The preceding Assemblies had decreed the issue of assignats to the amount of two thousand seven hundred millions; two thousand five hundred millions had been expended; there remained two hundred millions, of which one hundred and seventy-six were yet to be made, and the other twenty-four were still in the exchequer. The taxes were withheld by the departments for the purchase of corn ordered by the last Assembly; fresh extraordinary resources were required. The mass of the national property being daily increased by emigration, the Convention was not afraid to issue paper representing that property, neither did it hesitate to do so. A new creation of assignats was therefore ordered.

Roland was heard on the state of France and of the capital. Equally severe and still bolder than on the 3rd of September, he expatiated with energy on the outrages in Paris, their causes, and the means of preventing them. He recommended the prompt institution of a strong and vigorous government as the only guarantee of order in free States. His report, listened to with favour, was followed by applause, but nevertheless excited no explosion among those who considered themselves as accused where it treated of the disturbances in Paris.

But scarcely was this first survey taken of the state of France, when news arrived of the breaking out of commotions in certain departments. Roland addressed a letter to the Convention, denouncing these fresh outrages, and demanding their repression. As soon as this letter was read, the deputies Kersaint and Buzot rushed to the tribune to denounce the acts of violence of all sorts that began to be everywhere committed. "The murders," said they, "are imitated in the departments. It is not anarchy that must be accused of them, but tyrants of a new species, who are raising themselves above scarcely emancipated France. It is from Paris that these fatal exhortations to crime are daily emanating. On all the walls of the capital are posted bills instigating to murder, to conflagration, to pillage, and lists of proscription, in which new victims are daily pointed out. How are the people to be preserved from the most abject wretchedness if so many citizens are doomed to keep themselves concealed? How make France hope for a constitution if the Convention, which ought to decree it, deliberates under uplifted daggers? A stop must, for the honour of the Revolution, be put to all these excesses, and a distinction made between the civic bravery which defied despotism on the 10th of August, and the cruelty which,

on the 2nd and 3rd of September, obeyed a mute and hidden tyranny."

The speakers in consequence proposed the establishment of a committee for the purpose—

1. Of rendering an account of the state of the republic, and of Paris in particular;

2. Of presenting a *projet de loi* against the instigators of murder and assassination;

3. Of reporting on the means of placing at the disposal of the National Convention a public force raised in the eighty-three departments.

On this motion, all the members of the left side, on which were ranged the most ardent spirits of the new Assembly, set up tumultuous shouts. The evils prevailing in France were, according to them, exaggerated. The hypocritical complaints which they had just heard issued from the depths of the dungeons in which were justly immured those suspected persons who for three years had been invoking civil war upon their country. The evils complained of were inevitable. The people were in a state of revolution, and it was their duty to take energetic measures for their welfare. Those critical moments were now past, and the declarations just issued by the Convention would suffice to allay the disturbances. Besides, wherefore an extraordinary jurisdiction? The old laws were still in force, and were sufficient for provocations to murder. Was it a new martial law that members were desirous of establishing?

By a contradiction very common among parties, those who had demanded the extraordinary jurisdiction of the 17th of August, those who were about to demand that of the revolutionary tribunal, inveighed against a law which, they said, was a law of blood. "A law of blood!" exclaimed Kersaint; "when it is, on the contrary, the spilling of blood that I wish to prevent!" An adjournment, however, was vehemently called for. "To adjourn the repression of murders," cried Vergniaud, "is to order them. The foes of France are in arms upon our territory, and you would have the French citizens, instead of fighting them, slaughter one another like the soldiers of Cadmus!"

At length the motion of Kersaint and Buzot was adopted entire. A decree was passed that laws should be prepared for the punishment of instigators to murder, and for the organization of a departmental guard.

This sitting of the 24th had caused a great agitation in the public mind; yet no name had been mentioned, and the charges brought forward were but general. Next day the deputies

met with all the resentments of the preceding day rankling within them, the one party murmuring against the decrees that had been passed, the other regretting that it had not said enough against what it termed the *disorganizing* faction. While some thus attacked and others defended the decrees, Merlin, formerly usher and municipal officer of Thionville, afterwards a member of the Legislative Assembly, where he signalized himself among the most determined patriots—Merlin, famous for his ardour and his intrepidity, demanded permission to speak. “The order of the day,” said he, “is to ascertain if, as Lasource yesterday assured me, there exists in the bosom of the National Convention a faction desirous of establishing a triumvirate or a dictatorship. Let all suspicions cease, or let Lasource point out the guilty persons, and I swear to stab them before the face of the Assembly.” Lasource, thus pointedly called upon to explain himself, reported his conversation with Merlin, and again designated, but without naming them, the ambitious men who wished to exalt themselves upon the ruins of demolished royalty. “It is they who have instigated to murder and plunder, who have issued orders of arrest against members of the Legislative Assembly, who point the dagger against the courageous members of the Convention, and who impute to the people the excesses perpetrated by themselves.” He added, that when the time should arrive he would tear off the veil which he had only lifted, were he even to perish under their blows.

Still, however, the triumvirs were not named. Osselin ascended the tribune, and mentioned the deputation of Paris of which he was a member. He said that it was against that body that jealousy was so studiously excited, but that it was neither profoundly ignorant enough, nor profoundly wicked enough, to have conceived plans of a triumvirate or a dictatorship; that he would take his oath to the contrary, and he called for ignominy and death against the first who should be caught meditating such plans. “Let every one,” added he, “follow me to the tribune, and make the same declaration.” “Yes,” exclaimed Rebecqui, the courageous friend of Barbaroux; “yes, that party charged with tyrannical projects exists, and I will name it—it is Robespierre’s party. Marseilles knows this, and has sent us hither to oppose it.”

This bold apostrophe produced a strong sensation in the Assembly. All eyes turned towards Robespierre. Danton hastened to speak, for the purpose of healing divisions, and of preventing accusations which he knew to be in part directed against himself. “That day,” said he, “will be a glorious

one for the republic, on which a frank and brotherly explanation shall dispel all jealousies. People talk of dictators, of triumvirs: but that charge is vague, and ought to be signed." "I will sign it!" again exclaimed Rebecqui, rushing to the bureau. "Good," rejoined Danton; "if there be guilty persons, let them be sacrificed, even though they were my dearest friends. For my part, my life is known. In the patriotic societies, on the 10th of August, in the executive council, I have served the cause of liberty, without any private view, and with the *energy of my disposition*. For my own person, then, I fear no accusations; but I wish to save everybody else from them. There is, I admit, in the deputation of Paris a man who might be called the *Royou* of the republicans—that is Marat. I have frequently been charged with being the instigator of his placards; but I appeal to the president, and beg him to declare if in the commune and the committees he has not seen me frequently at variance with Marat. For the rest, that writer, so vehemently accused, has passed part of his life in cellars and prisons. Suffering has soured his temper, and his extravagances ought to be excused. But let us leave mere individual discussions, and endeavour to render them subservient to the public welfare. Decree the penalty of death against any one who shall propose either a dictator or a triumvirate." This motion was hailed with applause.

"That is not all," resumed Danton; "there is another apprehension diffused among the public. That, too, ought to be dispelled. It is alleged that part of the deputies are meditating the federative system, and the division of France into a great number of sections. It is essential that we should form one whole. Declare, then, by another decree the unity of France and of its government. These foundations laid, let us discard our jealousies, let us be united, and push forward to our goal."

Buzot, in reply to Danton, observed, that the dictatorship was a thing that might be assumed, and was not likely to be demanded; and that to enact laws against such a demand was illusory; that as for the federative system, nobody dreamt of it; that the plan of a departmental guard was a mean of unity, since all the departments would be called upon in common to guard the national representation; that for the rest, it might be well to make a law on that subject, but that it ought to be maturely weighed, and in consequence the propositions of Danton ought to be referred to the committee of six decreed on the preceding day.

Robespierre, personally accused, asked leave to speak in

his turn. He set out with declaring that it was not himself that he was going to defend, but the public weal, attacked in his person. Addressing Rebecqui, "Citizen," said he, "who have not been afraid to accuse me, I thank you. In your courage I recognize the celebrated city which has deputed you. The country, you, and myself will be gainers by this accusation.

"A party," he continued, "has been pointed out as meditating a new tyranny, and I have been called its chief. The charge is vague; but thanks to all that I have done for liberty, it will be easy for me to reply to it. It was I who in the Constituent Assembly for three years combated all the factions, whatever name they borrowed. It was I who combated the Court, and disdained its gifts. It was I . . ." "That is not the question," exclaimed several deputies. "Let him justify himself," replied Tallien. "Since I am accused of treason against the country," resumed Robespierre, "have I not a right to rebut the charge by the evidence of my whole life?" He then began again to enumerate his twofold services against the aristocracy, and the false patriots who assumed the mask of liberty. As he uttered these words he pointed to the right side of the Convention. Osselin, himself tired of this enumeration, interrupted Robespierre, and desired him to give a frank explanation. "The question," said Lecointe-Puiravaux, "does not relate to what you have done, but to what you are charged with doing at the present moment." Robespierre then fell back upon the liberty of opinion, upon the sacred right of defence, upon the public weal, equally compromised with himself in this accusation. Again he was exhorted to be brief, but he proceeded with the same diffuseness as before. Referring to the famous decrees passed on his motion against the re-election of the Constituents, and against the nomination of deputies to places in the gift of the government, he asked if those were proofs of ambition. Then recriminating on his adversaries, he renewed the accusation of federalism, and concluded by demanding the adoption of the decrees moved by Danton, and a serious investigation of the charge preferred against himself. Barbaroux, out of patience, hastened to the bar. "Barbaroux of Marseilles," said he, "comes to sign the denunciation made against Robespierre by Rebecqui." He then related a very insignificant and oft-repeated story, namely, that before the 10th of August, Panis took him to Robespierre's, and that on leaving, after this interview, Panis presented Robespierre to him as the only man, the only dictator, capable of saving the public

weal; and that upon this, he, Barbaroux, replied that the Marseillais would never bow their heads before either a king or a dictator.

We have already detailed these circumstances, and the reader has had an opportunity of judging whether these vague and trivial expressions of Robespierre's friends furnished sufficient ground for an accusation. Barbaroux reviewed, one after another, the imputations thrown out against the Girondins. He proposed that federalism should be proscribed by a decree, and that all the members of the National Convention should swear to suffer themselves to be blockaded in the capital, and to die there, rather than leave it. After prolonged plaudits, Barbaroux resumed, and said that, as for the design of a dictatorship, it could not be disputed; that the usurpations of the commune, the orders issued against members of the national representation, the commissioners sent into the departments, all proved a project of domination; but that the city of Marseilles watched over the safety of its deputies; that ever prompt to anticipate beneficial decrees, it despatched the battalion of federalists, in spite of the royal *veto*, and that now it was sending off eight hundred of its citizens, to whom their fathers had given a brace of pistols, a sword, a musket, and an assignat of five hundred livres; that to these it had joined two hundred cavalry, well equipped, and that this force would serve to commence the departmental guard proposed for the safety of the Convention. "As for Robespierre," added Barbaroux, "I deeply regret having accused him, for I once loved and esteemed him, yes, we all loved and esteemed him, and yet we have accused him. Let him acknowledge his faults, and we will desist. Let him cease to complain, for if he has saved liberty by his writings, we have defended it with our persons. Citizens, when the day of peril shall arrive, then people will be able to judge us, then we shall see if the writers of placards have the courage to die along with us!"

Numerous plaudits accompanied Barbaroux to his seat. At the word placards, Marat demanded permission to speak. Cambon also asked it, and obtained the preference. He then denounced placards in which a dictatorship was proposed as indispensable, and which were signed with Marat's name. At these words every one moved away from him, and he replied with a smile to the aversion that was manifested for him. Cambon was followed by other accusers of Marat and of the commune. Marat long strove to obtain permission to speak; but Panis gained it before him, in order to answer the

allegations of Barbaroux. Panis in a clumsy manner denied real acts, but which proved little, and which it would have been better to admit and to insist on their insignificance. He was then interrupted by Brissot, who asked him the reason of the order of arrest issued against himself. Panis appealed to circumstances, which, he said, had been too readily forgotten, to the terror and confusion which then overwhelmed men's minds, to the multitude of denunciations against the conspirators of the 10th of August, to the strong rumours circulated against Brissot, and to the necessity for investigating them.

After these long explanations, every moment interrupted and resumed, Marat, still insisting on being heard, at length obtained permission to speak, when it was no longer possible to refuse it. It was the first time that he had appeared in the tribune. The sight of him produced a burst of indignation, and a tremendous uproar was raised against him. "Down! down!" was the general cry. Slovenly in his dress, wearing a cap, which he laid down upon the tribune, and surveying his audience with a convulsive and contemptuous smile, "I have," said he, "a great number of personal enemies in this Assembly." . . . "All! all!" cried most of the deputies. "I have in this Assembly," resumed Marat, with the same assurance, "a great number of personal enemies. I recall them to modesty. Let them spare their ferocious clamours against a man who has served liberty and themselves more than they imagine.

"People talk of a triumvirate, of a dictatorship—a plan which they attribute to the deputation of Paris. Well, it is due to justice to declare that my colleagues, and especially Robespierre and Danton, have always been hostile to it, and that I have always had to combat them on this point. I was the first and the only one among all the political writers of France who thought of this measure as the only expedient for crushing traitors and conspirators. It is I alone who ought to be punished; but before you punish, you ought to hear." These words were followed by some plaudits from a few members. Marat continued: "Amidst the everlasting machinations of a perfidious King, of an abominable Court, and of false patriots, who, in both Assemblies, sold the public liberty, will you reproach me for having devised the only means of salvation, and for having called down vengeance upon guilty heads? No; for the people would condemn you. It has felt that it had but this expedient left, and it is by making itself dictator that it has delivered itself from traitors.

"I have shuddered more than any other at the idea of these

terrible movements, and it is that they might not prove for ever vain that I should have wished them to be directed by a just and firm hand. If at the storming of the Bastille the necessity of that measure had been understood, five hundred guilty heads would have fallen at my bidding, and peace would have been ensured from that time. But for want of the display of this energy, equally wise and necessary, one hundred thousand patriots have been slaughtered, and one hundred thousand more are threatened with slaughter. As a proof that it was not my wish to convert this dictator, tribune, triumvir—the name is of no consequence—into a tyrant such as stupidity might conceive, but a victim devoted to the country, whose lot no ambitious man would have envied, is, that I proposed at the same time that his authority should last for a few days only, that it should be limited to the power of condemning traitors, and even that a cannon-ball should during that time be fastened to his leg, that he might always be in the power of the people. My ideas, revolting as they may appear to you, tended only to the public welfare.* If you were yourselves not enlightened enough to comprehend me, so much the worse for you !”

The profound silence which had prevailed thus far was interrupted by some bursts of laughter, which did not disconcert the speaker, who was far more terrible than ludicrous. He resumed: “Such was my opinion, written, signed, and publicly maintained. If it were false, it would have been right to combat it, to enlighten me, and not to denounce me to despotism.

“I have been accused of ambition ; but look at and judge me. Had I but condescended to set a price upon my silence, I might have been gorged with gold—and I am poor. Persecuted without ceasing, I wandered from cellar to cellar, and I have preached truth from a wood-pile.

“As for you, open your eyes. Instead of wasting time in scandalous discussions, perfect the declaration of rights, establish the constitution, and lay the foundations of the just and free government which is the real object of your labours.”

* “There is no kind of folly which may not come into the head of a man, and what is worse, which may not for a moment be realized. Marat had several ideas which were unalterable. The Revolution had its enemies, and according to him, in order to ensure its duration, these were to be destroyed ; he thought no means more obvious than to exterminate them ; and to name a dictator whose functions should be limited to proscription : he preached openly these two doctrines without cruelty, but with an air of cynicism equally regardless of the rules of decency and the lives of men ; and despising as weak-minded all who styled his projects atrocious instead of regarding them as profound.”—*Mignet*.

A general attention had been paid to this strange man, and the Assembly, stupefied by a system so alarming and so deeply calculated, had kept silence. Emboldened by this silence, some partisans of Marat had applauded; but their example was not followed, and Marat resumed his place without plaudits, but without any demonstrations of hostility.

Vergniaud, the purest, the most prudent of the Girondins, deemed it right to speak in order to rouse the indignation of the Assembly. He deplored the misfortune of having to answer a man who had not cleared himself from the decrees issued against him—a man all dripping with calumnies, gall, and blood. The murmurs were renewed; but he proceeded with firmness, and after having distinguished in the deputa-tion of Paris, David, Dussaulx, and some other members, he took in hand the famous circular of the commune, which we have already quoted, and read the whole of it. As, however, it was already known, it did not produce so much effect as another paper which Boileau, the deputy, read in his turn. It was a handbill printed by Marat that very day, in which he said, “A single reflection oppresses me, namely, that all my efforts to save the people will end in nothing without a fresh insurrection. From observing the temper of most of the deputies to the National Convention, I despair of the public welfare. If the bases of the constitution are not laid in the first eight sittings, expect nothing more from this Assembly. Fifty years of anarchy await you, and you will not emerge from it except by means of a dictator, a true patriot and statesman. . . . *O prating people! if thou didst but know how to act!*”

The reading of this paper was frequently interrupted by bursts of indignation. As soon as it was finished a great number of members fell foul of Marat. Some threatened him, and cried, “To the Abbaye! to the guillotine!”* while others loaded him with contempt. A fresh smile was his only answer to all the attacks levelled at him. Boileau demanded a decree of accusation, and the greater part of the Assembly was for

* “This fatal instrument was named after its inventor, of whom the *Bio-graphie Moderne* gives the following account: ‘M. Guillotin, a physician at Paris, born in 1738, was appointed a member of the National Assembly, and attracted attention chiefly by his great gentleness of disposition. In 1789 he made a speech on the penal code, wherein a tone of great humanity was perceptible, and which terminated by a proposal for substituting, as less cruel than the cord, that fatal machine, the guillotine, which in the end received so many victims. Some persons, carried away by the horror which this machine has excited, have considered as a monster one of the gentlest and at the same time most obscure men of the Revolution. Nobody deplored more bitterly than M. Guillotin the fatal use that has been made of his invention.’”

putting the question to the vote. Marat coolly insisted on being heard. They refused to hear him unless at the bar. At length he obtained the tribune. According to his usual expression he *recalled his enemies to modesty*. As for the decrees which members had not been ashamed to throw in his teeth, he gloried in them, because they were the price of his courage. Besides, the people, in sending him to this National Assembly, had annulled the decrees, and decided between his accusers and himself. As for the paper which had just been read, he would not disown it; for falsehood, he said, never approached his lips, and fear was a stranger to his heart.

"To demand a recantation of me," added he, "is to require me not to see what I do see, not to feel what I do feel, and there is no power under the sun capable of producing this reversal of ideas. I can answer for the purity of my heart, but I cannot change my thoughts. They are what the nature of things suggests to me."

Marat then informed the Assembly that this paper, printed as a placard ten days before, had been reprinted against his will by his bookseller; but that he had given, in the first number of the *Journal de la République*, a new exposition of his principles, with which he was sure the Assembly would be satisfied if it would but listen to it.

The Assembly actually consented to the reading of the article, and appeased by the moderate expressions of Marat in this article, entitled his "New March," it treated him with less severity; nay, he even obtained some tokens of approbation. But he again ascended the tribune with his usual audacity, and presumed to lecture his colleagues on the danger of giving way to passion and prejudice; saying, that if his journal had not appeared that very day to exculpate him, they would have sent him blindly to prison. "But," added he, showing a pistol which he always carried in his pocket, and which he pointed to his forehead, "I had wherewithal to remain free; and had you decreed my accusation, I would have blown out my brains in this very tribune. Such is the fruit of my labours, my dangers, my sufferings! Well, I shall stay among you to defy your fury!" At these concluding words, his colleagues, whose indignation was rekindled, cried out that he was a madman, a villain, and a long tumult ensued.

The discussion had lasted several hours, and what had been elicited? Nothing whatever concerning the alleged plan of a dictatorship for the benefit of a triumvirate, but much relative to the character of the parties and their respective strength. The Assembly had beheld Danton easy and full of goodwill

for his colleagues, on condition that he should not be annoyed on account of his conduct; Robespierre full of spleen and pride; Marat astonishing by his cynicism and boldness, repelled even by his party, but striving to accustom minds to his atrocious systems; all three, in short, succeeding in the Revolution by different faculties and vices, not agreeing together, reciprocally disowning each other, and evidently actuated solely by that love of influence which is natural to all men, and which is not yet a project of tyranny. The Assembly united with the Girondins in proscribing September and its horrors; it decreed them the esteem due to their talents and their integrity; but it deemed their accusations exaggerated and imprudent, and could not help perceiving in their indignation some personal feelings.

From that moment the Assembly divided itself into a right side and a left side, as in the first days of the Constituent. On the right side were ranged all the Girondins and those who, without being also personally connected with their party, yet participated in their generous indignation. To the centre resorted, in considerable numbers, those upright and peaceable deputies, who, not being urged either by character or talent to take any other share in the struggle of parties than by their vote, sought obscurity and safety by mixing with the crowd. Their numerical influence in the Assembly, the respect, still very great, that was paid them, the anxiety shown by the Jacobin and municipal party to justify itself in their opinion—all served to encourage them. They fondly believed that the authority of the Convention would suffice in time to daunt the agitators; they were not sorry to check the energy of the Girondins, and to be able to tell them that their accusations were rash. They were still but reasonable and impartial; at times somewhat jealous of the too frequent and too brilliant eloquence of the right side; but they were soon destined to become weak and cowardly in the presence of tyranny. They were called the Plain; and by way of opposition the name of Mountain was given to the left side, where all the Jacobins were crowded together. On the benches of this Mountain were seen the deputies of Paris, and the deputies of the departments who owed their nomination to correspondence with the clubs, or who had been gained since their arrival by the idea that no quarter ought to be given to the enemies of the Revolution. It comprehended, moreover, some distinguished, but exact, severe, positive minds, who condemned the theories and the philanthropy of the Girondins as vain abstractions. The Mountaineers, however,

were still far from numerous. The Plain, united with the right side, composed an immense majority, which had conferred the presidency on Petion, and which approved of the attacks of the Girondins on September, excepting the personalities which seemed too premature and too unfounded.

The Assembly had passed to the order of the day upon the reciprocal accusations of the two parties; but the decree of the preceding day was upheld, and three points were determined upon: (1) to demand of the minister of the interior an exact and faithful report of the state of Paris; (2) to draw up a *projet de loi* against the instigators of murder and pillage; (3) to devise means for collecting around the Convention a departmental guard. As to the report on the state of Paris, it was known with what energy and in what spirit that task would be performed, since it was committed to Roland. As for the commission charged with the two *projets* against written instigations, and for the raising of a guard, the like hopes were conceived of its labours, because it was entirely composed of Girondins. Buzot, Lasource, and Kersaint formed part of it.

It was to these two latter measures that the Mountaineers were most hostile. They asked if the Girondins meant to renew martial law and the massacres of the Champ de Mars; and if the Convention intended to surround itself with satellites and life-guards, like the last King. They again brought forward—so the Girondins alleged—all the reasons urged by the Court against the camp near Paris.

Many even of the most ardent members of the left side were themselves, in their quality of members of the Convention, decidedly adverse to the usurpations of the commune; and setting aside the deputies of Paris, none of them defended it when attacked, as it was every day. Accordingly decrees briskly followed decrees. As the commune deferred renewing itself, in execution of the decree prescribing the re-election of all the administrative bodies, the executive council was ordered to superintend its renewal, and to report on the subject to the Assembly within three days. A commission of six members was appointed to receive the declaration signed by all those who had deposited effects at the Hôtel de Ville, and to investigate the existence of those effects, or the use to which they had been applied by the municipality. The directory of the department, which the insurrectional commune had reduced to the title and duties of a mere administrative commission, was reinstated in all its functions, and resumed its title of directory. The communal elections, for the appointment of the mayor, the

municipality, and the general council, which by the contrivance of the Jacobins were to have taken place *vivá voce*, for the purpose of intimidating the weak, were again rendered secret by a confirmation of the existing law. The elections already made in this illegal manner were annulled, and the sections proceeded to new ones in the prescribed form. Lastly, all prisoners confined without any mandate of arrest were ordered to be forthwith liberated. This was a severe blow given to the committee of surveillance, which was particularly inveterate against persons.

All these decrees had been passed in the first days of October; and the commune, being closely pressed, found itself obliged to yield to the ascendancy of the Convention. The committee of surveillance, however, would not suffer itself to be beaten without resistance. Its members repaired to the Assembly, saying that they came to confound their enemies. Having in their custody the papers found in the house of Laporte, intendant of the civil list, condemned, as the reader will recollect, by the tribunal of the 17th of August, they had discovered, they said, a letter containing a statement of the sums which certain decrees passed by the preceding Assemblies had cost. They came to unmask the deputies sold to the Court, and to prove the falseness of their patriotism. "Name them," cried the Assembly with indignation. "We cannot name them yet," replied the members of the committee. In order to repel the calumny, a commission of twenty-four deputies, who had not been members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, was immediately appointed to examine the papers, and to make their report on the subject. Marat, the inventor of this device, boasted in his journal that he had repaid the *Rolandists*, the accusers of the commune, *in their own coin*; and he proclaimed the pretended discovery of a treason of the Girondins. On an examination of the papers, however, none of the existing deputies were found to be compromised, and the committee of surveillance was declared guilty of calumny. The papers being too voluminous for the twenty-four deputies to prosecute the examination at the Hôtel de Ville, they were removed to one of the committee-rooms of the Assembly. Marat, finding himself thus deprived of rich materials for his daily accusations, was highly incensed, and alleged in his journal that there was a design to destroy the evidences of all the treasons.

The Assembly, having thus repressed the excesses of the commune, directed its attention to the executive power, and decided that the ministers could no longer be taken from among its members. Danton, obliged to choose between the functions

of minister of justice and those of member of the Convention, preferred, like Mirabeau, those which ensured the tribune to him, and quitted the ministry without rendering any account of the secret expenditure, saying that he had delivered that account to the council. The fact was not exactly so; but the Assembly, without looking too closely into the matter, suffered the excuse to pass. On the refusal of François de Neufchateau, Garat,* a distinguished writer, a clever metaphysician, and who had acquired reputation by the ability with which he edited the *Journal de Paris*, accepted the post of minister of justice. Servan, weary of a laborious administration, which was above, not his faculties, but his strength, preferred the command of the army of observation that was forming along the Pyrenees. Lebrun was therefore directed to take *ad interim* the portfolio of war, in addition to that of foreign affairs. Lastly, Roland offered his resignation, being tired of an anarchy so contrary to his integrity and his inflexible love of order. The Girondins proposed to the Assembly to request him to retain the portfolio. The Mountaineers, and Danton in particular, whom he had greatly thwarted, opposed this step as not consistent with the dignity of the Assembly. Danton complained that he was a weak man, and under the government of his wife. In reply to this charge of weakness, his opponents referred to Roland's letter of the 3rd of September; and they might, moreover, have adduced the opposition which he, Danton, had experienced in the council. The Assembly, however, passed to the order of the day. Being pressed by the Girondins, and by all good men, Roland continued in the ministry. "I remain in it," he nobly wrote to the Assembly, "since calumny attacks me there, since dangers there await me, since the Convention has appeared to wish me still to be there. It is too glorious," he added, at the conclusion of his letter, "that no worse reproach can be brought against me than my union with courage and virtue."

The Assembly then divided itself into various committees. It appointed a committee of surveillance, composed of thirty members; a second, of war, consisting of twenty-four; a third, of accounts, of fifteen; a fourth, of criminal and civil legislation, of forty-eight; a fifth, of assignats, specie, and finances, of forty-two. A sixth committee, more important than all the others, was added to the preceding. It was to direct its attention to the principal object for which the Convention had assembled, namely, the preparation of a plan of constitution.

* See Appendix Q.

It was composed of nine members, celebrated in different ways, and almost all holding the sentiments of the right side. Philosophy had its representatives there in the persons of Sièyes, Condorcet, and Thomas Paine, the American, recently elected a French citizen and a member of the National Convention; the Gironde was particularly represented by Gensonné, Vergniaud, Petion, and Brissot; the centre by Barrère;* and the Mountain by Danton. The reader will doubtless be surprised to see this tribune so restless, but so far from speculative, placed in a committee so thoroughly philosophical; and we should think that the character of Robespierre, if not his talents, ought to have gained him this appointment. It is certain that Robespierre coveted this distinction much more, and that he was severely mortified because he failed to obtain it. It was conferred in preference on Danton, whose natural talents fitted him for anything, and whom no deep resentment had yet separated from his colleagues. It was this composition of the committee that so long delayed the completion of the plan of the constitution.

After having thus provided for the restoration of order in the capital, for the organization of the executive power, for the formation of committees, and for the preparatives of the constitution, there was yet left a last subject, one of the most serious to which the Assembly had to direct its attention—the fate of Louis XVI. and his family. On this point the most profound silence had been observed in the Assembly: it was talked of everywhere, at the Jacobins, at the commune, in all places, public and private, with the single exception of the Convention. Some emigrants had been taken in arms; and they were on their way to Paris for the purpose of being made amenable to the criminal laws. On this subject one voice was raised—and this was the first—and inquired if, instead of punishing subaltern culprits, the Assembly did not intend to think of the more exalted ones confined in the Temple.† At this question profound silence pervaded the Assembly. Barbaroux was the first to speak; and insisted, that before it should

* “I used to meet Barrère at a table-d’hôte. I considered him of a mild and amiable temper. He was very well-bred, and seemed to love the Revolution from a sentiment of benevolence. His association with Robespierre, and the court which he paid to the different parties he successively joined and afterwards deserted, were less the effect of an evil disposition than of a timid and versatile character, and the conceit which made it incumbent on him to appear as a public man. His talents as an orator were by no means of the first order. He was afterwards surnamed the Anacreon of the guillotine; but when I knew him, he was only the Anacreon of the Revolution, upon which in his ‘Point du Jour’ he wrote some very amorous strains.”—*Dumont.*

† See Appendix R.

he determined whether the Convention was to try Louis XVI., it ought to be decided whether the Convention should be a judicial body, for it had other culprits to try besides those in the Temple. In raising this question, Barbaroux alluded to the proposal for constituting the Convention an extraordinary court for trying itself *the agitators, the triumvirs, &c.* After some discussion, the proposition was referred to the committee of legislation, that it might examine the questions to which it gave rise.

At this moment the military situation of France was much changed. It was nearly the middle of October. The enemy was already driven out of Champagne and Flanders, and the foreign territory was invaded on three points, the Palatinate, Savoy, and the county of Nice.

We have seen the Prussians retiring from the camp of La Lame, retreating towards the Argonne, strewing the defiles with the sick and the dead, and escaping total destruction solely through the negligence of our generals, who severally pursued the enemy with a different object. The Duke of Saxe-Teschén had not been more successful in his attack on the Netherlands. While the Prussians were marching upon the Argonne, that Prince was not willing to be left behind, and had deemed it his duty to attempt some brilliant enterprise. Though, however, our northern frontier had not been put into a state of defence, he was almost as destitute of means as ourselves, and had great difficulty in collecting a scanty *matériel* and fifteen thousand men. Then, feigning a false attack upon our whole line of fortresses, he occasioned the breaking up of one of our little camps, and suddenly moved towards Lille, to attempt a siege which the greatest generals could not have carried on without powerful armies and a considerable *matériel*.

In war, nothing but the possibility of success can justify cruel enterprises. The Duke was only able to approach one point of the fortress, and there established batteries of howitzers, which bombarded it for six successive days, and burned more than two hundred houses. It is said that the Archduchess Christine insisted on witnessing this horrible scene. If this were the case, she could not witness anything but the heroism of the besieged, and the uselessness of Austrian barbarity. The people of Lille, resisting with noble obstinacy, would not consent to surrender; and on the 8th of October, while the Prussians were abandoning the Argonne, Duke Albert was obliged to quit Lille. General Labourdonnais, arriving from Soissons, and Beurnonville, returning from

Champagne, forced him to retreat rapidly from our frontiers, and the resistance of the people of Lille, published throughout all France, served to increase the general enthusiasm.

Nearly about the same time Custine* was attempting bold enterprises, but with results more brilliant than solid, in the Palatinate. Attached to Biron's army, which was encamped along the Rhine, he was placed, with seventeen thousand men, at some distance from Spire. The grand invading army had but feebly protected its rear whilst advancing into the interior of France. Weak detachments covered Spire, Worms, and Mayence. Custine, perceiving this, marched for Spire, and entered it without resistance on the 30th of September. Emboldened by success, he penetrated on the 5th of October into Worms, without encountering any greater difficulties, and obliged a garrison of two thousand seven hundred men to lay down their arms. He then took Frankenthal, and immediately directed his attention to the strong fortress of Mayence, which was the most important point of retreat for the Prussians, and in which they had been so imprudent as to leave but a moderate garrison. Custine, with seventeen thousand men, and destitute of *matériel*, could not attempt a siege; but he resolved to try a *coup de main*. The ideas which had roused France were agitating all Germany, and especially those cities which had universities. Mayence was one of these, and Custine contrived to establish a correspondence there. He approached the walls, withdrew on the false report of the arrival of an Austrian corps, returned, and making great movements, deceived the enemy as to the strength of his army. Deliberations were held in the fortress. The design of capitulation was strongly supported by the partisans of the French, and on the 21st of October the gates were opened to Custine. The garrison laid down its arms, with the exception of eight hundred Austrians, who rejoined the grand army. The intelligence of these brilliant successes spread rapidly, and caused an extraordinary sensation. They had certainly cost but little; at the same time they were far less meritorious than the firmness of the people of Lille, and the magnanimous coolness displayed at St. Meneshould; but people were delighted with the transition from mere resistance to conquest. Thus far all would have been right on Custine's part, if, appreciating his position, he had possessed the skill to terminate the campaign by a movement which would have been practicable and decisive.

* See Appendix S.

At this moment the three armies of Dumouriez, Kellermann, and Custine were by the most fortunate chance so placed that they might have destroyed the Prussians, and conquered by a single march the whole line of the Rhine to the sea. If Dumouriez, less preoccupied by another idea, had kept Kellermann under his command, and pursued the Prussians with his eighty thousand men; if, at the same time, Custine, descending the Rhine from Mayence to Coblenz, had fallen upon their rear, they must infallibly have been overpowered. Then descending the Rhine to Holland, they might have taken Duke Albert in the rear, and obliged him either to lay down his arms, or to fight his way through them, and the whole Netherlands would have been subdued. Trèves and Luxembourg, comprised within the line which we have described, would fall of course. All would be France as far as the Rhine, and the campaign would be over in a month. Dumouriez abounded in genius, but his ideas had taken a different course. Impatient to return to Belgium, he thought of nothing but hastening thither immediately, to relieve Lille, and to push Duke Albert in front. He left Kellermann, therefore, alone to pursue the Prussians. The latter general might still have marched upon Coblenz, passing between Luxembourg and Trèves, while Custine would be descending from Mayence. But Kellermann, who was not enterprising, had not sufficient confidence in the capabilities of his troops, which appeared harassed, and put them into cantonments around Metz. Custine, on his part, desirous of rendering himself independent, and of making brilliant incursions, had no inclination to join Kellermann, and to confine himself within the limit of the Rhine. He never thought, therefore, of descending to Coblenz. Thus this admirable plan was neglected, so ably seized and developed by the greatest of our military historians.*

Custine, though clever, was haughty, passionate, and inconsistent. His chief aim was to make himself independent of Biron and every other general, and he entertained the idea of conquering around him. If he were to take Mannheim, he should violate the neutrality of the Elector-Palatine, which the executive council had forbidden him to do. He thought, therefore, of abandoning the Rhine, for the purpose of advancing into Germany. Frankfurt, situated on the Maine, appeared to him a prize worth seizing, and thither he resolved to proceed. Nevertheless this free commercial city, always neutral in the different wars, and favourably disposed towards the

* Baron Henri Jomini.

French, did not deserve this mischievous preference. Being defenceless, it was easy to enter, but difficult to maintain one's self there, and consequently it was useless to occupy it. This excursion could have but one object, that of levying contributions; and there was no justice in imposing them on a population habitually neutral, and meriting by its very disposition the goodwill of France, whose principles it approved, and to whom it wished success. Custine committed the fault of entering the city. This was on the 27th of October. He levied contributions, incensed the inhabitants, whom he converted into enemies of the French, and ran the risk, while proceeding towards the Maine, of being cut off from the Rhine, either by the Prussians, if they had ascended as far as Bingen, or by the Elector-Palatine, if, breaking the neutrality, he had issued from Manheim.

The tidings of these incursions into the enemy's territory continued to excite great joy in France, who was astonished to find herself conquering a few days only after she had been afraid of being conquered. The Prussians, being alarmed, threw a flying bridge across the Rhine, for the purpose of ascending along the right bank and driving away the French. Fortunately for Custine they were twelve days in crossing the river. Discouragement, disease, and the separation of the Austrians, had reduced that army to fifty thousand men. Clairfayt, with his eighteen thousand Austrians, had followed the general movement of our troops towards Flanders, and was proceeding to the aid of Duke Albert. The corps of emigrants had been disbanded, and the brilliant soldiery which composed it had either joined the corps of Condé or passed into foreign service.

During these occurrences on the frontier of the North and of the Rhine, we were gaining other advantages on the frontier of the Alps. Montesquiou, who commanded the army of the South, invaded Savoy, and detached one of his officers to occupy the county of Nice. This general, who had displayed in the Constituent Assembly all the abilities of a statesman, and who had not had time to exhibit the qualities of a military commander, which he is asserted to have possessed, had been summoned to the bar of the Legislative Assembly to account for his conduct, which had been deemed too dilatory. He had found means to convince his accusers that the want of means and not of zeal was the cause of his tardiness, and had returned to the Alps. He belonged, however, to the first revolutionary generation, and this was incompatible with the new one. Again he was sent for, and he was on the point of

being stripped of his command when news arrived that he had entered Savoy. His dismissal was then suspended, and he was left to continue his conquest.

According to the plan conceived by Dumouriez, when as minister for foreign affairs he superintended the departments both of diplomacy and war. France was to push her armies to her natural frontiers, the Rhine, and the lofty chain of the Alps. To this end it was necessary to conquer Belgium, Savoy, and Nice. France had thus the advantage, in confining herself to natural principles, of despoiling only the two enemies with whom she was at war, the house of Austria and the Court of Turin. It was this plan, which failed in April in Belgium, and was deferred till now in Savoy, of which Montesquiou was about to execute his portion. He gave a division to General Anselme, with orders to pass the Var, and to proceed for Nice upon a given signal: he himself, with the greater part of his army, advanced from Grenoble upon Chambéry; he caused the Sardinian troops to be threatened by St. Geniès, and marching himself from the fort Barraux upon Mont-Melian, he succeeded in dividing and driving them back into the valleys. While his lieutenants were pursuing them, he advanced upon Chambéry, on the 28th of September, and made his triumphal entry into that city, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, who loved liberty like true sons of the mountains, and France like men speaking the same language, having the same manners, and belonging to the same basin. He immediately convoked an assembly of Savoyards, for the purpose of deliberating upon a question which could not be doubtful—the union of Savoy with France.

At the same moment, Anselme, reinforced by six thousand Marseillais, whom he had demanded as auxiliaries, had approached the Var, an unequal torrent, like all those which descend from lofty mountains, alternately swollen and dry, and incapable even of receiving a permanent bridge. Anselme boldly crossed the Var, and occupied Nice, which the Count St. André had just abandoned, and which the magistrates had pressed him to enter, in order to put a stop to the excesses of the populace, who were committing frightful depredations. The Sardinian troops retired towards the upper valleys. Anselme pursued them; but he halted before a formidable post, that of Saorgio, from which he could not drive the Piedmontese.

Meanwhile the squadron of Admiral Truguet, combining its movements with those of General Anselme, had obtained the surrender of Villafranca, and borne away for the little principality of Oneglia. A great number of privateers were

accustomed to take refuge in that port, and for this reason it would be of service to reduce it. But while a French boat was advancing to parley, the right of nations was violated, and several men were killed by a general discharge. The admiral, laying his ships athwart the harbour, poured upon it an overwhelming fire, and then landed some troops, which sacked the town, and made a great carnage among the monks, who were very numerous there, and who were said to be the instigators of this act of treachery. Such is the rigour of military law, which was inflicted without mercy on the unfortunate town of Oneglia. After this expedition the French squadron returned off Nice, where Anselme, separated by the swelling of the Var from the rest of his army, was in a dangerous predicament. By carefully guarding himself, however, against the post of Saorgio, and by treating the inhabitants better than he had done,* he rendered his position tenable, and was enabled to retain his conquest.

Montesquieu was meanwhile advancing from Chambery towards Geneva, and was likely soon to find himself in presence of Switzerland, which entertained extremely adverse feelings towards the French, and pretended to discover in the invasion of Savoy a danger to its neutrality.

The sentiments of the cantons in regard to us were widely different. All the aristocratic republics condemned our Revolution. Berne, in particular, and its *avoyer*, Stinger, held it in profound detestation; and the more so, because it furnished a subject of high gratification to the oppressed Pays de Vaud. The Helvetic aristocracy, excited by Stinger and the English ambassador, called for war against us, and laid great stress on the massacre of the Swiss guards on the 10th of August, the disarming of a regiment at Aix, and lastly, the occupation of the gorges of Porentruy, which belonged to the bishopric of Basle, and which Biron had caused to be occupied for the purpose of closing the Jura. The moderate party nevertheless gained the ascendancy, and an armed neutrality was determined upon. The canton of Berne, still more irritated and distrustful, sent a *corps d'armée* to Nyon, and under the pretext of an application from the magistrates of Geneva, placed a garrison in that city.

According to ancient treaties, Geneva, in case of a war

* "The republicans made a cruel use of their victory. The inhabitants of Nice and the neighbouring country were rewarded for the friendly reception they had given them by plunder and outrages of every description. A proclamation issued by General Anselme against these excesses met with no sort of attention; and the commissioners appointed by the Convention to inquire into the disorders were unable to make any effectual reparation."—*Alison*.

between France and Savoy, was not to receive a garrison from either power. Our envoy immediately quitted the place, and the executive council, instigated by Clavières, who had formerly been banished from Geneva, and was jealous of introducing the Revolution there, ordered Montesquiou to enforce the execution of the treaties. He was instructed, moreover, to put a garrison into the place, that is to say, to commit the same fault with which the Bernese were reproached. Montesquiou, sensible, in the first place, that he had not at the moment the means of taking Geneva, and in the next, that by violating the neutrality and involving himself in a war with Switzerland, he would throw open the east of France and expose the right flank of our defensive, resolved, on the one hand, to intimidate Geneva, while, on the other, he would endeavour to make the executive council listen to reason. He therefore loudly insisted on the departure of the Bernese troops, and strove to persuade the French ministry that this was all that could be required. His design was, in case of extremity, to bombard Geneva, and to proceed by a bold march towards the canton of Vaud, for the purpose of producing a revolution. Geneva consented to the departure of the Bernese troops, on condition that Montesquiou should retire to the distance of ten leagues, which he immediately did. This concession, however, was censured at Paris; and Montesquiou, posted at Carouge, where he was surrounded by Genevese exiles, who were desirous of returning to their country, was worried between the fear of embroiling France with Switzerland, and the fear of disobeying the executive council, which was incapable of appreciating the soundest military and political views. This negotiation, prolonged by the distance of the places, was not yet brought near to a close, though it was the end of October.

Such then was the state of our arms in October 1792, from Dunkirk to Basle, and from Basle to Nice. The frontier of Champagne was delivered from the grand invasion; the troops were proceeding from that province towards Flanders, to relieve Lille and to invade Belgium. Kellermann took up his quarters in Lorraine. Custine, escaped from the control of Biron, master of Mayence, and marching imprudently into the Palatinate and to the Maine, rejoiced France by his conquests, affrighted Germany, and indiscreetly exposed himself to the risk of being cut off by the Prussians, who were ascending the Rhine, in sick and beaten but numerous bodies, and still capable of overwhelming the little French army. Biron was still encamped along the Rhine. Montesquiou, master

of Savoy, in consequence of the retreat of the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, and secured from fresh attacks by the snow, had to decide the question of Swiss neutrality either by arms or by negotiations. Lastly, Anselme, master of Nice, and supported by a squadron, was enabled to resist in his position, in spite of the swelling of the Var, and of the Piedmontese collected above him at the post of Saorgio.

While the war was about to be transferred from Champagne to Belgium, Dumouriez had solicited permission to go to Paris for two or three days only, for the purpose of concerting with the ministers the invasion of the Netherlands, and the general plan of all the military operations. His enemies reported that he was coming to gain applause, and that he was leaving the duties of his command for the sake of a frivolous gratification of vanity. These reproaches were exaggerated, for Dumouriez's command suffered nothing by his absence, and mere marches of troops could be performed without him. His presence, on the contrary, was likely to be very useful to the council for the determination of a general plan; and besides, he might be forgiven an impatience of glory, so general among men, and so excusable when it does not interfere with duties.

He arrived in Paris on the 11th of October. His situation was perplexing, for he could not stand well with either of the two parties. He disliked the violence of the Jacobins, and he had broken with the Girondins by expelling them a few months before from the ministry. Very favourably received, however, throughout all Champagne, he was still more warmly welcomed in Paris, especially by the ministers and by Roland himself, who discarded all personal resentments when the public welfare was at stake. He presented himself before the Convention on the 12th. No sooner was he announced than mingled acclamations and applause arose on all sides. In a simple, energetic speech, he gave a brief sketch of the whole campaign of the Argonne, and bestowed the highest commendations on his troops, and on Kellermann himself. His staff then brought forward a standard taken from the emigrants, and offered it to the Assembly as a monument of the vanity of their projects. Immediately afterwards the deputies hastened to surround him, and the sitting was closed, in order to afford free scope for their congratulations. It was more especially the numerous deputies of the Plain, the *impartials*, as they were termed, who, having neither rupture nor revolutionary indifference to lay to his charge, gave him the warmest and most cordial welcome. The Girondins were not behindhand; yet, whether it was their fault or his, the reconciliation was not complete,

and a lurking relic of coolness was perceptible between them. The Mountaineers, who had reproached him with a momentary attachment to Louis XVI., and who found him, in his manners, his merit, and his elevation, already too like the Girondins, grudged him the testimonies paid to him in that quarter, and supposed these testimonies to be more significant than they really were.

After the Convention he had yet to visit the Jacobins, and this power had then become so imposing that the victorious general could not omit paying them his homage. It was there that opinion in fermentation formed all its plans and issued all its decrees. If an important law, a high political question, a great revolutionary measure, was to be brought forward, the Jacobins, always more prompt, hastened to open the discussion and to give their opinion. Immediately afterwards they thronged to the commune and to the sections: they wrote to all the affiliated clubs; and the opinion which they had expressed, the wish which they had conceived, returned in the form of addresses from every part of France, and in the form of armed petitions from all the quarters of Paris. When in the municipal councils, in the sections, and in all the assemblies invested with any authority whatever, there was still some hesitation on a question, from a last respect for legality, the Jacobins, who esteemed themselves free as thought, boldly cut the knot, and every insurrection was proposed among them long beforehand. They had for a whole month deliberated on that of the 10th of August. Besides this initiative in every question, they had arrogated to themselves an inexorable inquisition into all the details of the government. If a minister, the head of a public office, a contractor, were accused, commissioners sent by the Jacobins went to the offices and demanded exact accounts, which were delivered to them without haughtiness, without disdain, and without impatience. Every citizen who had to complain of any act whatever had only to apply to the society, and officious advocates were appointed to obtain justice for him. One day perhaps soldiers would complain of their officers, workmen of their employers; the next, an actress might be seen demanding justice against her manager; nay, once a Jacobin came to demand reparation for adultery committed with his wife by one of his colleagues.

Every one was anxious to have his name entered in the register of the society, in order to attest his patriotic zeal. Almost all the deputies who had recently arrived in Paris had hastened to present themselves at the Jacobins for that purpose; there had been counted one hundred and thirteen of

them in one week, and even such as never meant to attend the meetings of the club nevertheless applied for admission. The affiliated societies wrote from the extremities of the provinces, inquiring if the deputies of their departments had got themselves enrolled, and if they were assiduous members. The wealthy of the capital strove to gain pardon for their wealth by going to the Jacobins to put on the red cap, and their equipages blocked up the entrance to that abode of equality. While the hall was filled with its numerous members, and the tribunes were crowded with people, an immense concourse, mingled with carriages, waited at the door, and with loud shouts demanded admission. Sometimes this multitude became irritated when rain, so common under the sky of Paris, aggravated the wearisomeness of waiting, and then some member demanded the admission of the *good people* who were suffering at the doors of the hall. Marat had frequently claimed this privilege on such occasions; and when the admission was granted, sometimes even before, an immense multitude of both sexes poured in and mingled with the members.

It was in the evening that they met. Anger, excited and repressed in the Convention, here vented itself in a free explosion. Night, the multitude of auditors, all contributed to heat the imagination. The sitting was frequently prolonged till it degenerated into a tremendous tumult, and there the agitators gathered courage for the most audacious attempts on the following day. Still this society, so imbued with a demagogue spirit, was not what it subsequently became. The equipages of those who came to abjure the inequality of conditions were still suffered to wait at the door. Some members had made ineffectual attempts to speak with their hats on, but they had been obliged to uncover themselves. Brissot, it is true, had just been excluded by a solemn decision; but Petion continued to preside there amidst applause. Chabot, Collot-d'Herbois, and Fabre-d'Eglantine were the favourite speakers. Marat still appeared strange there, and Chabot observed, in the language of the place, that Marat was "a hedgehog which could not be laid hold of anywhere."

Dumouriez was received by Danton, who presided at the sitting. He was greeted with numerous plaudits, and the sight of him gained forgiveness for the supposed friendship of the Girondins. He made a short speech appropriate to his situation, and promised to march *before the end of the month at the head of sixty thousand men, to attack kings and to save the people from tyranny.*

Danton, replying in similar style, said that, in rallying the French at the camp of St. Menchould, he had deserved well of the country, but that a new career was opening for him; that he must now make crowns fall before the red cap with which the society had honoured him, and that his name would then shine among the most glorious names of France. Collot-d'Herbois then addressed him in a speech which shows both the language of that period and the feelings of the moment in regard to the general.

"It was not a king who appointed thee, O Dumouriez; it was thy fellow-citizens. Bear in mind that a general of the republic ought to serve none but the republic. Thou hast heard of Themistocles: he had just saved Greece at Salamis; but calumniated by his enemies, he was forced to seek an asylum among tyrants. They wanted him to serve against his country. His only answer was to plunge his sword into his heart. Dumouriez, thou hast enemies; thou wilt be calumniated: remember Themistocles!

"Enslaved nations are awaiting thy assistance. Thou wilt soon set them free. What a glorious mission! . . . Thou must nevertheless guard thyself against any excess of generosity towards thine enemies. *Thou hast conducted back the King of Prussia rather too much in the French manner.* But Austria, we hope, will pay doubly.

"Thou art going to Brussels, Dumouriez. . . . I have nothing to say to thee. . . . If, however, thou shouldst there find an execrable woman who came beneath the walls of Lille to feast her ferocity with the sight of red-hot balls! . . . But no, that woman will not wait for thy coming.

"At Brussels liberty will again spring up under thy feet. Citizens, maidens, matrons, children, will throng around thee—oh, what happiness art thou about to enjoy, Dumouriez! My wife is from Brussels; she, too, will embrace thee!"*

Danton then retired with Dumouriez, whom he seized upon, and to whom he did, as it were, the honours of the new republic. Danton having shown at Paris as firm a countenance as Dumouriez at St. Menchould, they were regarded as the two saviours of the Revolution, and they were applauded together at all the public places where they made their appearance. A certain instinct drew these two men towards one another, notwithstanding the difference of their habits. They were the rakes of the two systems, who united with the like genius the like love of pleasure, but with a different sort of

* See Appendix T.

corruption. Danton had that of the people, Dumouriez that of Courts; but more lucky than his colleague, the latter had only served generously and sword in hand, while Danton had been so unfortunate as to sully a great character by the atrocities of September.

Those brilliant salons where the celebrated men of former days enjoyed their glory; where, during the whole of the last century, Voltaire, Diderot, d'Alembert, Rousseau, had been listened to and applauded—those salons no longer existed. There was left the simple and select society of Madame Roland, which brought together all the Girondins, the handsome Barbaroux, the clever Louvet, the grave Buzot, the brilliant Guadet, the persuasive Vergniaud, and where still a pure language prevailed, conversations replete with interest, and elegant and polished manners. The ministers met there twice a week, and dined together off a single course. Such was the new republican society, which joined to the graces of old France the gravity of the new, and which was so soon to be swept away by demagogue coarseness.

Dumouriez attended one of these simple repasts, felt an unpleasant sensation at first in the presence of those former friends whom he had driven from the ministry, and of that woman who appeared to him too austere, and to whom he appeared too licentious; but he supported this situation with his accustomed spirit, and was touched in particular by the sincere cordiality of Roland. Besides the society of the Girondins, that of the artists was the only one which had survived the dispersion of the ancient aristocracy. Almost all the artists had warmly embraced a Revolution which avenged them of high-born disdain, and promised favour to genius alone. They welcomed Dumouriez, in their turn, and gave him an entertainment at which all the talents that the capital contained were assembled. But in the very midst of this entertainment a strange scene occurred to interrupt it, and to produce as much disgust as surprise.

Marat, ever prompt to outstrip revolutionary suspicions, was not satisfied with the general. The merciless denouncer of all those who enjoyed the public favour, he had always anticipated by his disgusting invectives the disgrace incurred by the popular leaders. Mirabeau, Bailly, Lafayette, Petion, the Girondins, had been assailed by his abuse while yet in the possession of all their popularity. Since the 10th of August in particular, he had indulged all the extravagances of his mind; and though revolting to upright and reasonable men, and strange at least to hot-headed Revolutionists, he had been

encouraged by success. He failed not, therefore, to consider himself as in some measure a public man, essential to the new order of things. He spent part of his time in collecting reports, in circulating them in his paper, and in visiting the bureaux for the purpose of redressing the wrongs committed by administrators against the people. Communicating to the public the particulars of his life, he declared in one of his numbers * that his avocations were overwhelming, that out of his twenty-four hours in the day he allowed but two for sleep, and one only to the table and to his domestic concerns; that besides the hours devoted to his duty as a deputy, he regularly spent six in collecting the complaints of a multitude of unfortunate and oppressed persons, and in endeavouring to obtain redress for them; that he passed the remaining hours in reading and answering a multitude of letters, in writing his observations on public events, in receiving denunciations, in ascertaining the veracity of the denouncers, lastly, in editing his paper, and superintending the printing of a great work. For three years, he said, he had not taken a quarter of an hour's recreation; and it makes one shudder to think what so inordinate a mind, coupled with such unceasing activity, is capable of producing in a revolution.

Marat pretended to discover in Dumouriez nothing but an aristocrat of dissolute manners, who was not to be trusted. As an addition to his motives, he had been informed that Dumouriez had recently proceeded with the utmost severity against two battalions of volunteers who had slaughtered some emigrant deserters. Repairing immediately to the Jacobins, he denounced the general in their tribune, and asked for two commissioners to go with him and question him concerning his conduct. Montaut and Bentabolle were instantly appointed, and away he went with them. Dumouriez was not at home. Marat hurried to the different theatres, and at length learned that Dumouriez was attending an entertainment given to him by the artists at the house of Mademoiselle Candeille, a celebrated woman of that day. Marat scrupled not to proceed thither, notwithstanding his disgusting costume. The carriages, the detachments of the national guard, which he found at the door of the house where the dinner was given, the presence of Santerre, the commandant, and of a great number of deputies, and the arrangements of the entertainment, excited his spleen. He boldly went forward and asked for Dumouriez. A sort of

* *Journal de la République Française*, No. 93, Jan. 9, 1793.

murmur arose at his approach. The mention of his name caused the disappearance of a number of faces, which, he said, could not endure his accusing looks. Proceeding straight forward to Dumouriez, he loudly accosted him, and demanded an explanation of his treatment of the two battalions. The general eyed him, and then said with a contemptuous curiosity, "Aha! so you are the man they call Marat!" He then surveyed him again from head to foot, and turned his back upon him without saying another word. As, however, the Jacobins who accompanied Marat appeared milder and more respectable, Dumouriez gave them some explanations, and sent them away satisfied. Marat, who was far from being so, made a great noise in the ante-rooms; abused Santerre, who, he said, acted the part of lackey to the general; inveighed against the national guard, which contributed to the splendour of the entertainment; and retired, threatening vengeance against all the aristocrats composing the assembly. He instantly hastened to describe in his journal this ridiculous scene, which so correctly delineates the situation of Dumouriez, the fury of Marat, and the manners of that period.*

Dumouriez had spent four days at Paris, and during that time he had not been able to come to a good understanding with the Girondins, though he had among them an intimate friend in the person of Gensonné. He had merely advised the latter to reconcile himself with Danton, as with the most powerful man, and the one who, notwithstanding his vices, might become most serviceable to the well-meaning. Neither was Dumouriez on better terms with the Jacobins, with whom he was disgusted, and to whom he was an object of suspicion, on account of his supposed friendship with the Girondins. His visit to Paris had therefore not served him much with either of the parties; but it had proved more beneficial to him in a military respect.

According to his custom, he had drawn up a general plan, which had been adopted by the executive council. Agreeably to this plan, Montesquieu† was to maintain his position along the Alps, and to secure the great chain as a boundary by completing the conquest of Nice, and striving to keep up the neutrality of Switzerland. Biron was to be reinforced,

* See Appendix U.

† "Montesquieu wrote, in 1798, a work entitled 'On the Administration of Finance in a Republic,' which shows a true zeal for the government under which he lived, and a degree of talent well calculated to serve it. Never was he heard to utter a word that could betray the faintest regret for his station before the Revolution; and yet he was perhaps one of those who had lost by it most power, most honours, and most wealth."—*Rœderer*.

in order to guard the Rhine from Basle to Landau.* A corps of twelve thousand men, under the command of General Meusnier, was destined to move to the rear of Custine, in order to cover his communications. Kellermann had orders to leave his quarters, to pass rapidly between Luxembourg and Trèves, to hasten to Coblenz, and thus to do what he had already been advised, and what he and Custine had so long neglected to do. Then taking the offensive with eighty thousand men, Dumouriez was to complete the French territory by the projected acquisition of Belgium. Keeping thus the defensive on all the frontiers protected by the nature of the soil, the French would boldly attack only on the open frontier, that of the Netherlands, where, according to the expression of Dumouriez, a man could *defend himself only by gaining battles*.

He obtained, by means of Santerre, compliance with his suggestions, that the absurd idea of a camp near Paris should be relinquished; that the men, artillery, ammunition, provisions, and necessities for encamping collected there, should be despatched to Flanders for the use of his army, which was in want of everything; that to these should be added shoes, great-coats, and six millions in cash to supply the soldiers with ready money, till they should enter the Netherlands, after which he hoped to be able to provide for himself. He set out, about the 16th of October, with somewhat different notions of what is called public gratitude, on rather worse terms with the parties than before, and at the utmost, indemnified for his journey by certain military arrangements made with the executive council.

During this interval the Convention had continued to act against the commune, by urging its renewal, and closely watching all its proceedings. Petion had been elected mayor by a majority of 13,899 votes, while Robespierre had obtained but twenty-three, Billaud-Varennes fourteen, Panis eighty, and Danton eleven. The popularity of Robespierre and Petion must not, however, be measured according to this difference in the number of votes; because people were accustomed to see in the one a mayor, and in the other a deputy, and did not care to make anything else of either; but this immense majority proves the popularity which the principal chief of the Girondin party still possessed. We should not omit to mention that Bailly obtained two votes—a singular memento bestowed on that worthy magistrate of 1789. Petion declined

* See Appendix V.

the mayoralty, weary of the convulsions of the commune, and preferring the functions of deputy to the National Convention.

The three principal measures projected in the famous sitting of the 24th were a law against instigations to murder, a decree relative to the formation of a departmental guard, and lastly, an accurate report of the state of Paris. The two former, entrusted to the commission of nine, excited a continual outcry at the Jacobins, at the commune, and in the sections. The commission of nine nevertheless proceeded with its task; and from several departments, among others, Marseilles and Calvados, there arrived, as before the 10th of August, battalions which anticipated the decree respecting the departmental guard. Roland, to whom the third measure, namely, the report on the state of the capital, was allotted, performed his part without weakness and with the strictest truth. He described and excused the inevitable confusion of the first insurrection; but he delineated with energy, and branded with reprobation, the crimes added by the 2nd of September to the Revolution of the 10th of August. He exposed all the excesses of the commune, its abuses of power, its arbitrary imprisonments, and its immense peculations. He concluded with these words:—

“A wise department, but possessing little power; an active and despotic commune; an excellent population, but the sound part of which is intimidated or under constraint, while the other is wrought upon by flatterers and inflamed by calumny; confusion of powers; abuse and contempt of the authorities; the public force weak or reduced to a cipher by being badly commanded—such is Paris!”

His report was received with applause by the usual majority, though during the reading of it some murmurs had been raised by the Mountain. A letter, written by an individual to a magistrate, communicated by that magistrate to the executive council, and unveiling the design of a new 2nd of September against a part of the Convention, excited great agitation. In that letter there was this expression relative to the plotters: “They are determined to let none speak but Robespierre.” At these words all eyes were fixed upon him. Some expressed their indignation, others urged him to speak. He accordingly addressed the Assembly, for the purpose of counteracting the impression produced by Roland’s report, which he termed a defamatory romance; and he insisted that publicity ought not to be given to that report before those who were accused, and himself in particular, had been heard. Then expatiating on so much as related to him personally,

he began to justify himself; but he could not gain a hearing on account of the noise which prevailed in the hall. Robespierre, having succeeded in quelling the uproar, recommenced his apology, and challenged his adversaries to accuse him to his face, and to produce a single positive proof against him. At this challenge Louvet started up. "It is I," said he, "I who accuse thee." He was already at the foot of the tribune when he uttered these words, and Barbaroux and Rebecqui had followed him thither to support the accusation. At this sight Robespierre was agitated, and his countenance betrayed his emotion.* He proposed that his accuser should be heard, and that he should then have leave to reply. Danton, who succeeded him in the tribune, complained of the system of calumny organized against the commune and the députation of Paris, and repeated, concerning Marat, who was the principal cause of all these accusations, what he had already declared, namely, that he disliked him, that he had experienced his *volcanic and unsociable temper*, and that all idea of a triumviral coalition was absurd. He concluded by moving that a day should be fixed for discussing the report. The Assembly ordered it to be printed, but deferred its distribution among the departments till Louvet and Robespierre should have been heard.

Louvet was a man of great boldness and courage. His patriotism was sincere, but his hatred of Robespierre was blended with resentment occasioned by a personal quarrel, begun at the Jacobins, continued in *La Sentinelle*, revived in the electoral assembly, and rendered more violent since he was face to face with his jealous rival in the National Convention. With extreme petulance of disposition Louvet united a romantic and credulous imagination, which misled him, and caused him to suppose concerted plans and plots where there was nothing more than the spontaneous effect of the passions. He firmly believed in his own suppositions, and strove to force his friends also to put faith in them. But in the cool good sense of Roland and Petion, and in the indolent impartiality of Vergniaud, he had to encounter an opposition which mortified him. Buzot, Barbaroux, Guadet, without being equally credulous, without supposing such complicated machinations, believed in the wickedness of their adversaries, and seconded Louvet's attacks from indignation and courage. Salles, deputy

* "Robespierre, whose countenance had till then been firm and his manner composed, was now profoundly agitated. He had once measured his powers at the Jacobins with this redoubtable adversary, whom he knew to be clever, impetuous, and regardless of consequences."--*Mignet*.

of La Meurthe, an inveterate enemy to anarchists in the Constituent Assembly and in the Convention—Salles, endowed with a sombre and violent imagination, was alone accessible to all the suggestions of Louvet, and like him, was a believer in vast plots hatched in the commune, and extending to foreign countries. Passionate friends of liberty, Louvet and Salles could not consent to impute to it so many evils, and they were fain to believe that the party of the Mountain, and Marat in particular, were paid by the emigrants and England to urge on the Revolution to crime, to dishonour, and to general confusion. More uncertain relative to Robespierre, they saw in him at least a tyrant actuated by pride and ambition, and aspiring, no matter by what means, to the supreme power.

Louvet, having resolved to attack Robespierre boldly, and to allow him no rest, had his speech in readiness, and had brought it with him on the day when Roland was to present his report. Thus he was quite prepared to support the accusation when he obtained permission to speak. He instantly availed himself of it, and immediately after Roland.

The Girondins were already sufficiently disposed to form false notions of events, and to find a plot where nothing but violent passions really existed; but to the credulous Louvet the conspiracy appeared much more evident and more intimately combined. In the growing exaggeration of the Jacobins, and in the favour which Robespierre's superciliousness had found with them during the year 1792, he beheld a plot framed by the ambitious tribune. He pictured him surrounded by satellites to whose violence he gave up his opponents; erecting himself into the object of an idolatrous worship; causing it to be ramoured before the 10th of August that he alone could save liberty and France, and when the 10th of August arrived, hiding himself from the light, coming forth again two days after the danger, proceeding direct to the commune, notwithstanding his promise never to accept any place, and of his sole authority, seating himself at the bureau of the general council; there seizing the control over a blind *bourgeoisie*, instigating it at pleasure to all sorts of excesses, insulting for its sake the Legislative Assembly, and demanding decrees of that Assembly upon penalty of the tocsin; directing, but without showing himself, the massacres and the robberies of September, in order to uphold the municipal authority by terror; and afterwards despatching emissaries over all France to recommend the same crimes, and to induce the provinces to acknowledge the supremacy and the authority of Paris. Robespierre, added Louvet, wished to destroy the

national representation, in order to substitute for it the commune which he swayed, and to give us the government of Rome, where, under the name of *municipia*, the provinces were subject to the sovereignty of the metropolis. Thus, master of Paris, which would have been mistress of France, he would have become the successor of overthrown royalty. Seeing, however, the meeting of a new Assembly near at hand, he had passed from the general council to the electoral assembly, and directed the votes by terror, in order to make himself master of the Convention by means of the deputation of Paris.

It was he, Robespierre, who had recommended to the electors that man of blood whose incendiary placards had filled France with surprise and horror. That libeller, with whose name Louvet would not, he said, soil his lips, was but the spoiled child of murder, who possessed a courage for preaching up crime and calumniating the purest citizens, in which the cautious Robespierre was deficient. As for Danton, Louvet excluded him from the accusation, nay, he was astonished that he should have ascended the tribune to repel an attack which was not directed against him. He did not, however, separate him from the perpetrations of September, because in those disastrous days, when all the authorities, the Assembly, the ministers, the mayor, spoke in vain to stop the massacres, the minister of justice alone *did not speak*; because, lastly, in the notorious placards he alone was excepted from the calumnies poured forth upon the purest of the citizens. "And canst thou," exclaimed Louvet, "canst thou, O Danton, clear thyself in the eyes of posterity from this dishonouring exception?" These words, equally generous and imprudent, were loudly cheered.

This accusation, continually applauded, had not, however, been heard without many murmurs. "Procure silence for me," Louvet had said to the president, "*for I am going to touch the sore, and the patient will cry out.*" "Keep your word," said Danton; "touch the sore." And whenever murmurs arose, there were cries of "Silence! silence, *sore ones!*"

Louvet at last summed up his charges. "I accuse thee, Robespierre," he exclaimed, "of having calumniated the purest citizens, and of having done so on the day when calumnies were proscriptions. I accuse thee of having put thyself forward as an object of idolatry, and of having spread abroad that thou wert the only man capable of saving France. I accuse thee of having vilified, insulted, and persecuted the

national representation, of having tyrannized over the electoral assembly of Paris, of having aimed at the supreme power by calumny, violence, and terror; and I demand a committee to investigate thy conduct." Louvet then proposed a law condemning to banishment every one who should make his name a subject of division among the citizens. He proposed that to the measures the plan of which the commission of nine was preparing, should be added a new one, for placing the armed force at the disposal of the minister of the interior. "Lastly," said he, "I demand on the spot a decree of accusation against Marat! . . . Heavens!" he exclaimed. "O heavens! I have named him!"

Robespierre, stunned by the applause lavished on his adversary, desired to be heard. Amidst the uproar and murmurs excited by his presence, he hesitated; his features were distorted, his voice faltered. He nevertheless obtained a hearing, and demanded time to prepare his defence. He was allowed time, and his defence was adjourned to the 5th of November. This delay was fortunate for the accused, for the Assembly, excited by Louvet, was filled with strong indignation.

In the evening there was great agitation at the Jacobins, where all the sittings of the Convention were reviewed. A great number of members hurried in dismay to relate the *horrid conduct* of Louvet, and to demand the erasure of his name. He had calumniated the society, inculpated Danton, Santerre, Robespierre, and Marat. He had even demanded an accusation against the two latter, proposed sanguinary laws, which attacked the liberty of the press, and lastly, proposed the *Athenian ostracism*. Legendre said that it was a concerted trick, since Louvet had his speech ready prepared, and that Roland's report had evidently no other object than to furnish an occasion for this diatribe.

Fabre d'Eglantine complained that scandal was daily increasing, and that people were bent on calumniating Paris and the patriots. By connecting," said he, "petty conjectures with petty suppositions, people make out a vast conspiracy, and yet they will not tell us either where it is or who are the agents and what the means. If there were a man who had seen everything, appreciated everything, in both parties, you could not doubt that this man, a friend to truth, would be the very person to make known the truth. That man is Petion. Force his virtue to tell all that he has seen, and to speak out concerning the crimes imputed to the patriots. Whatever delicacy he may feel for his friends, I dare affirm that intrigues have not corrupted him. Petion is still pure and

sincere. He wanted to speak to-day. Force him to explain himself.*

Merlin disapproved of making Petion judge between Robespierre and Louvet, because it was violating equality thus to set up one citizen as the supreme judge of others. "Besides," said he, "Petion is no doubt a respectable man, but should he swerve! . . . is he not man? Is not Petion a friend of Brissot and of Roland? Does not Petion admit to his house Lasource, Vergniaud, Barbaroux, all the intriguers who are compromising liberty?"

Fabre's motion was withdrawn, and Robespierre the younger, assuming a lugubrious tone, as the relatives of accused persons were accustomed to do at Rome, complained that he was not calumniated like his brother. "It is a moment," said he, "of the greatest danger. All the people are not for us. It is only the citizens of Paris who are sufficiently enlightened; the others are so, but in a very imperfect degree. It is possible, therefore, that innocence may succumb on Monday; for the Convention has heard out the long lie of Louvet. Citizens!" he exclaimed, "I have had a terrible fright. Methought assassins were going to butcher my brother. I have heard men say that he would perish by such hands only. Another told me that he would gladly be his executioner."† At these words several members rose, and declared that they, too, had been threatened, that it was by Barbaroux, by Rebecqui, and by several citizens in the tribunes; that those who threatened them said, "We must get rid of Marat and Robespierre." The members then thronged around the younger Robespierre and promised to protect his brother; and it was determined that all those that had friends or relatives in the departments should write for the purpose of enlightening the public opinion. Robespierre the younger, on leaving the tribune, did not fail to add a calumny. Anarcharsis Cloots, he said, had assured him that he was every day breaking lances at Roland's against federalism.

Next came the fiery Chabot. What particularly offended him in Louvet's speech was, that he attributed the 10th of August to himself and his friends, and the 2nd of September to two hundred murderers. "Now," said Chabot, "I myself well remember that on the evening of the 9th of August I addressed myself to the gentlemen of the right side, to propose

* See Appendix W.

† "Young Robespierre was what might be called an agreeable young man, animated by no bad sentiments, and believing, or feigning to believe, that his brother was led on by a parcel of wretches, every one of whom he would banish to Cayenne if he were in his place."—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

the insurrection to them, and that they replied by curling up their lips into a smile. I know not, then, what right they have to attribute to themselves the 10th of August. As for the 2nd of September, its author is also that same populace which produced the 10th of August in spite of them, and which, after the victory, wished to avenge itself. Louvet asserts that there were not two hundred murderers, and I can assure him that I passed, with the commissioners of the Legislative Assembly, under an arch of ten thousand swords. I recognized more than one hundred and fifty federalists. There are no crimes in revolutions. Marat, so vehemently accused, is persecuted solely for revolutionary acts. To-day Marat, Danton, Robespierre, are accused. To-morrow it will be Santerre, Chabot, Merlin," &c.

Excited by this audacious harangue, a federalist present at the sitting did what no man had yet publicly dared to do. He declared that he was *at work* with a great number of his comrades in the prisons, and that he believed he was only putting to death conspirators and forgers of false assignats, and saving Paris from massacre and conflagration. He added that he thanked the society for the kindness which it had shown to them all, that they should set out the next day for the army, and should carry with them but one regret—that of leaving patriots in such great dangers.

This atrocious declaration terminated the sitting. Robespierre had not made his appearance, neither did he appear during the whole week, being engaged in arranging his answer, and leaving his partisans to prepare the public opinion. The commune of Paris persisted meanwhile in its conduct and its system. It was alleged that it had taken not less than ten millions from the chest of Septeuil, treasurer of the civil list; and at that very moment it was circulating a petition to the forty-four municipalities against the plan for giving a guard to the Convention. Barbaroux immediately proposed four formidable and judiciously conceived decrees.

By the first, the capital was to lose the right of being the seat of the national representation, when it could no longer find means to protect it from insult or violence.

By the second, the federalists and the national gendarmes were, conjointly with the armed sections of Paris, to guard the national representation and the public establishments.

By the third, the Convention was to constitute itself a court of justice for the purpose of trying the conspirators.

By the fourth and last, the Convention was to cashier the municipality of Paris.

These four decrees were perfectly adapted to circumstances, and suitable to the real dangers of the moment; but it would have required all the power that could only be given by the decrees themselves in order to pass them. To create energetic means, energy is requisite; and every moderate party which strives to check a violent party is in a vicious circle, which it can never get out of. No doubt the majority, inclining to the Girondins, might have been able to carry the decrees; but it was its moderation that made it incline to them, and this very moderation counselled it to wait, to temporize, to trust to the future, and to avoid all measures that were prematurely energetic. The Assembly even rejected a much less rigorous decree, the first of those which the commission of nine had been charged to draw up. It was proposed by Buzot, and related to the instigators of murder and conflagration. All direct instigation was to be punished with death, and indirect instigation with ten years' imprisonment. The Assembly considered the penalty for direct instigation too severe, and indirect instigation too vaguely defined and too difficult to reach. To no purpose did Buzot insist that revolutionary and consequently arbitrary measures were required against the adversaries who were to be combated. He was not listened to, neither could he be, when addressing a majority which condemned revolutionary measures in the violent party itself, and was therefore very unlikely to employ them against it. The law was consequently adjourned; and the commission of nine, appointed to devise means of maintaining good order, became in a manner useless.

The Assembly, however, manifested more energy when the question of checking the excesses of the commune came under discussion. It seemed then to defend its authority with a sort of jealousy and energy. The general council of the commune, summoned to the bar, on occasion of the petition against the plan of departmental guard, came to justify itself. It was not the same body, it alleged, as on the 10th of August. It had contained prevaricators. They had been justly denounced, and were no longer among its members. "Confound not," it added, "the innocent with the guilty. Bestow on us the confidence which we need. We are desirous of restoring the tranquillity necessary for the Convention in order to the enactment of good laws. As for the presentation of this petition, it was the sections that insisted upon it: we are only their agents, but we will persuade them to withdraw it."

This submission disarmed the Girondins themselves, and at the request of Gensonné, the honours of the sitting were

granted to the general council. This docility of the administrators might well gratify the pride of the Assembly; but it proved nothing as to the real disposition of Paris. The tumult increased as the 5th of November, the day fixed for hearing Robespierre, approached. On the preceding day there were outcries in a contrary spirit. Bands went through the streets, some shouting. "To the guillotine, Robespierre, Danton, Marat!"—others, "Death to Roland, Lasource, Guadet!" Complaints were made on this subject at the Jacobins; but no notice was taken, except of the cries against Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. These cries were laid to the charge of dragoons and federalists, who at that time were still devoted to the Convention. Robespierre the younger again appeared in the tribune, deplored the dangers which beset innocence, condemned a plan of conciliation proposed by a member of the society, saying that the opposite party was decidedly counter-revolutionary, and that neither peace nor truce ought to be made with it; that no doubt innocence would perish in the struggle, but it was requisite that it should be sacrificed, and Maximilien Robespierre must be suffered to fall, because the ruin of one individual would not be attended with that of liberty. All the Jacobins applauded these fine sentiments, assuring the younger Robespierre that nothing of the sort would happen, and that his brother should not perish.

Complaints of a contrary kind were preferred to the Assembly, and there the shouts against Roland, Lasource, and Guadet were denounced. Roland complained of the inefficiency of his requisitions to the department and to the commune, to obtain an armed force. Much discussion ensued, reproaches were exchanged, and the day passed without the adoption of any measure. At length, on the following day, November the 5th, Robespierre appeared in the tribune.

The concourse was great, and the result of this solemn discussion was awaited with impatience. Robespierre's speech was very long and carefully composed. His answers to Louvet's accusations were such as a man never fails to make in such a case. "You accuse me," said he, "of aspiring to tyranny; but in order to attain it, means are required; and where are my treasures and my armies? You allege that I have reared at the Jacobins the edifice of my power. But what does this prove? Only that I have been heard with more attention, that I appealed perhaps more forcibly than you to the reason of that society, and that you are but striving here to revenge the wounds inflicted on your vanity. You pretend that this

celebrated society has degenerated ; but demand a decree of accusation against it, I will then take care to justify it, and we shall see if you will prove more successful or more persuasive than Leopold and Lafayette. You assert that I did not appear at the commune till two days after the 10th of August, and that I then, of my own authority, installed myself at the bureau. But, in the first place, I was not called to it sooner, and when I did appear at the bureau, it was not to instal myself there, but to have my powers verified. You add that I insulted the Legislative Assembly, that I threatened it with the tocsin. The assertion is false. Some one placed near me accused me of sounding the tocsin. I replied to the speaker that they were the ringers of the tocsin who by injustice soured people's minds ; and then one of my colleagues, less reserved, added that it would be sounded. Such is the simple fact on which my accuser has built this fable. In the electoral assembly I have spoken, but it was agreed upon that this liberty might be taken. I made some observations, and several others availed themselves of the same privilege. I have neither accused nor recommended any one. That man whom you charge me with making use of was never either my friend or recommended by me. Were I to judge him by those who attack him, he would stand acquitted ; but I decide not. I shall merely say that he has ever been a stranger to me ; that once he came to my house, when I made some observations on his writings, on their exaggeration, and on the regret felt by the patriots at seeing him compromise our cause by the violence of his opinions ; but he set me down for a politician having narrow views, and published this the very next day. It is a calumny then to suppose me to be the instigator and the ally of this man."

Passing from these personal accusations to the general charges directed against the commune, Robespierre repeated, with all his defenders, that the 2nd of September was the sequel to the 10th of August : that it is impossible after the event to mark the precise point where the billows of popular insurrection must have broken ; that the executions were undoubtedly illegal, but that without illegal measures despotism could not be shaken off ! that the whole Revolution was liable to the same reproach, for everything in it was illegal, both the overthrow of the throne and the capture of the Bastille. He then described the dangers of Paris, the indignation of the citizens, their concourse around the prisons, and their irresistible fury, on thinking that they should leave behind them conspirators who would butcher their families. " It

is affirmed that one innocent man has perished," exclaimed the speaker with emphasis—"one only, and that one a great deal too much, most assuredly. Lament, citizens, this cruel mistake! We have long lamented it; this was a good citizen; he was one of our friends! Lament even the victims who ought to have been reserved for the vengeance of the laws, but who fell beneath the sword of popular justice! But let your grief have an end, like all human things. Let us reserve some tears for more touching calamities. Weep for one hundred thousand patriots immolated by tyranny! Weep for our citizens expiring beneath their blazing roofs, and the children of citizens slaughtered in their cradles or in the arms of their mothers! Weep humanity bowed down beneath the yoke of tyrants! . . . But cheer up, if imposing silence on all base passions, you are resolved to ensure the happiness of your country, and to prepare that of the world!

"I cannot help suspecting that sensibility which mourns almost exclusively for the enemies of liberty. Cease to shake before my face the bloody robe of the tyrant, or I shall believe that you intend to rivet Rome's fetters upon her again!"

It was with this medley of subtle logic and revolutionary declamation that Robespierre contrived to captivate his auditory and to obtain unanimous applause. All that related to himself personally was just, and it was imprudent on the part of the Girondins to stigmatize as a plan of usurpation that which was as yet but an ambition of influence, rendered hateful by an envious disposition. It was imprudent to point out in the acts of the commune the proofs of a vast conspiracy, when they exhibited nothing but the agitation of popular passions. The Girondins thus furnished the Assembly with an occasion to charge them with wronging their adversaries. Flattered, as it were, to see the alleged leader of the conspirators forced to justify himself, delighted to see all the crimes accounted for as the consequence of an insurrection thenceforward impracticable, and to dream of a happier future, the Convention deemed it more dignified, more prudent, to put an end to all these personalities. The order of the day was therefore moved. Louvet rose to oppose it, and demanded permission to reply. A great number of members presented themselves, desirous of speaking for, on, or against the order of the day. Barbaroux, hopeless of gaining a hearing, rushed to the bar, that he might at least address the Assembly as a petitioner. Lanjuinais proposed that the important questions involved in Roland's report should be taken into consideration. At length

Barrère* obtained permission to speak. "Citizens," said he, "if there existed in the republic a man born with the genius of Cæsar or the boldness of Cromwell, a man possessing the dangerous means together with the talents of Sylla; if there existed here any legislator of great genius, of vast ambition, or of a profound character; a general, for instance, his brow wreathed with laurels, and returning among you to dictate laws or to violate the rights of the people, I should move for a decree of accusation against him. But that you should do this honour to men of a day, to petty dabblers in commotion, to those whose civic crowns are entwined with cypress, is what I am incapable of comprehending."

This singular mediator proposed to assign the following motive for the order of the day: "Considering that the National Convention ought not to occupy itself with any other interests than those of the republic." "I oppose your order of the day," cried Robespierre, "if it contains a preamble injurious to me." The Assembly adopted the pure and simple order of the day.

The partisans of Robespierre hastened to the Jacobins to celebrate this victory, and he was himself received as a triumphant conqueror.† As soon as he appeared he was greeted with plaudits. A member desired that he might be permitted to speak, in order that he might relate the proceedings of the day. Another declared that his modesty would prevent his compliance, and that he declined speaking. Robespierre, enjoying this enthusiasm in silence, left to another the

* "Barrère is a sort of undefinable creature—a species of coffee-house wit. He used to go every day, after leaving the committee, to visit a female with whom Champcenetz lived. He would remain with her till midnight, and would frequently say, 'To-morrow we shall get rid of fifteen, twenty, or thirty of them.' When the woman expressed her horror of these murders, he would reply, 'We must grease the wheels of the Revolution,' and then depart, laughing."—*Montgaillard*.

† "Robespierre, who afterwards played so terrible a part in our Revolution, began from this memorable day to figure among its foremost ranks. This man, whose talents were but of an ordinary kind, and whose disposition was vain, owed to his inferiority his late appearance on the stage, which in revolutions is always a great advantage. Robespierre had all the qualities of a tyrant; a mind which was without grandeur, but which nevertheless was not vulgar. He was a living proof that, in civil troubles, obstinate mediocrity is more powerful than the irregularity of genius. It must also be allowed that Robespierre possessed the support of an immense fanatical sect, which derived its origin from the eighteenth century. It took for its political symbol the absolute sovereignty of the 'Contrat Social' of J. J. Rousseau; and in matters of belief the deism contained in the Savoyard Vicar's confession of faith; and succeeded for a brief space in realizing them in the constitution of 1793, and in the worship of the Supreme Being. There were, indeed, in the various epochs of the Revolution more egotism and more fanaticism than is generally believed."—*Mignet*.

task of an adulatory harangue. He was called Aristides. His *natural and manly* eloquence was lauded with an affectation which proves how well known was his fondness for literary praise. The Convention was reinstated in the esteem of the society, and it was asserted that the triumph of truth had begun, and that there was now no occasion to despair of the salvation of the republic.

Barrère was called to account for the manner in which he had expressed himself respecting *petty dabblers in commotion*; and he laid bare his character most completely by declaring that he alluded in those words not to the ardent patriots accused with Robespierre, but to their adversaries.

Such was the result of that celebrated accusation. It was an absolute imprudence. The whole conduct of the Girondins is characterized by this step. They felt a generous indignation; they expressed it with talent; but they mixed up with it so many personal animosities, so many false conjectures, so many chimerical suppositions, as to furnish those who loved to deceive themselves with a motive for disbelieving them; those who dreaded an act of energy, with a motive for concluding that there was no immediate danger; and lastly, those who affected impartiality, with a motive for refusing to adopt their conclusions; and these three classes comprehended the whole Plain. Among them, however, the wise Petion did not participate in their exaggerations; he printed the speech which he had prepared, and in which all circumstances were duly appreciated. Vergniaud, whose reason and disdainful indolence raised him above the passions, was likewise exempt from their inconsistencies, and he maintained a profound silence. At the moment the only result for the Girondins was that they had rendered reconciliation impossible; that they had even expended on a useless combat their most powerful and only means, words and indignation; and that they had augmented the hatred and the fury of their enemies, without gaining for themselves a single additional resource.*

Woe to the vanquished when the victors disagree! The

* "The Girondins flattered themselves that a simple passing to the order of the day would extinguish Robespierre's influence as completely as exile or death; and they actually joined with the Jacobins in preventing the reply of Louvet—a fatal error, which France had cause to lament in tears of blood! It was now evident that the Girondins were no match for their terrible adversaries. The men of action on their side in vain strove to rouse them to the necessity of vigorous measures. Their constant reply was, that they would not be the first to commence the shedding of blood. Their whole vigour consisted in declamation—their whole wisdom in abstract discussion. They were too honourable to believe in the wickedness of their opponents; too scrupulous to adopt the means requisite to crush them."—*Alison*.

latter suspend their own quarrels, and seek to surpass each other in zeal to crush their prostrate enemies. At the Temple were confined the prisoners on whom the tempest of the revolutionary passions was about to burst. The monarchy, the aristocracy, in short, all the past against which the Revolution was furiously struggling, were personified, as it were, in the unfortunate Louis XVI. The manner in which each should henceforth treat him was to be the test of his hatred to the counter-revolution. The Legislative Assembly, too closely succeeding the constitution which declared the King inviolable, had not ventured to decide upon his fate; it had suspended and shut him up in the Temple; it had not even abolished royalty, and had bequeathed to a Convention the duty of judging all that belonged to the old monarchy, whether material or personal. Now that royalty was abolished, the republic decreed, and the framing of the constitution was consigned to the meditations of the most distinguished minds in the Assembly, the fate of Louis XVI. yet remained to be considered.

Six weeks had elapsed, and a crowd of pressing affairs, the supply and superintendence of the armies, the procuring of provisions, then scarce, as in all times of public disturbance, the police, and all the details of the government, which had been inherited from royalty, and transferred to an executive council, merely to be continually reverted to with extreme diffidence; lastly, violent quarrels, had prevented the Assembly from turning its attention to the prisoners in the Temple. Once only had a motion been made concerning them, and that had been referred, as we have seen, to the committee of legislation. At the same time they were everywhere talked of. At the Jacobins the trial of Louis XVI. was every day demanded, and the Girondins were accused of deferring it by quarrels, in which, however, every one took as great part and interest as themselves. On the 1st of November, in the interval between the accusation of Robespierre and his apology, a section having complained of new placards instigating to murder and sedition, the opinion of Marat was asked, as it always was. The Girondins alleged that he and some of his colleagues were the cause of all the disorder, and on every fresh circumstance they proposed proceedings against them. Their enemies, on the contrary, insisted that the cause of the troubles was at the Temple; that the new republic would not be firmly established, neither would tranquillity and security be restored to it, till the *ci-devant* King should be sacrificed, and that this terrible stroke would put an end to all the hopes of the

conspirators.* Jean de Bry, the deputy, who in the Legislative Assembly had proposed that no other rule of conduct should be followed but the *law of the public welfare*, spoke on this occasion, and proposed that both Marat and Louis XVI. should be brought to trial. "Marat," said he, "has deserved the appellation of man-eater; he would be worthy to be King. He is the cause of the disturbances for which Louis XVI. is made the pretext. Let us try them both, and ensure the public quiet by this twofold example." In consequence the Convention directed that a report on the denunciations against Marat should be presented before the Assembly broke up, and that in a week at latest the committee of legislation should give its opinion respecting the forms to be observed at the trial of Louis XVI. If at the expiration of eight days the committee had not presented its report, any member would have a right to express his sentiments on this important question from the tribune. Fresh quarrels and fresh engagements delayed the report respecting Marat, which was not presented till long afterwards, and the committee of legislation prepared that which was required of it respecting the august and unfortunate family confined in the Temple.

Europe had at this moment its eyes fixed on France. Foreigners beheld with astonishment those subjects, at first deemed so feeble, now become victorious and conquering, and audacious enough to set all thrones at defiance. They watched with anxiety to see what they would do, and still hoped that an end would soon be put to their audacity. Meanwhile military events were preparing to double the intoxication of the one, and to increase the astonishment and the terror of the world.

Dumouriez had set out for Belgium at the latter end of October, and on the 25th he had arrived at Valenciennes. His general plan was regulated according to the idea which predominated in it, and which consisted in driving the enemy in front, and profiting by the great numerical superiority which our army had over him. Dumouriez would have had it in his power, by following the Meuse with the greater part of his forces, to prevent the junction of Clairfayt, who was coming

* "The Jacobins had several motives for urging this sacrifice. By placing the King's life in peril, they hoped to compel the Girondins openly to espouse his cause, and thereby to ruin them without redemption in the eyes of the people; by engaging the popular party in so decisive a step, they knew that they would best preclude any chance of return to the royalist government. They were desirous, moreover, of taking out of the hands of the Girondins, and the moderate part of the Convention, the formation of a republican government,"—*Alison*.

from Champagne, to take Duke Albert in the rear, and to do what he was wrong not to have done at first, for he neglected to run along the Rhine, and to follow that river to Cleves. But his plan was now different, and he preferred to a scientific march a brilliant action, which would redouble the courage of his troops, already much raised by the cannonade of Valmy, and which overthrew the notion current in Europe for fifty years, that the French, excellent for *coups de main*, were incapable of gaining a pitched battle. His superiority in number admitted of such an attempt, and this idea was profound, as well as the manœuvres which he is reproached for not having employed. He did not, however, neglect to turn the enemy, and to separate him from Clairfayt. Valence, placed for this purpose along the Meuse, was to march from Givet upon Namur and Liege, with the army of the Ardennes, eighteen thousand strong. D'Harville, with twelve thousand, was ordered to move between the grand army and Valence, to turn the enemy at a less distance. Such were the dispositions of Dumouriez on his right. On his left, Labourdonnaye, setting out from Lille, was to march along the coast of Flanders, and to possess himself of all the maritime towns. On reaching Antwerp, he was directed to proceed along the Dutch frontier, and to join the Meuse at Ruremonde. Belgium would thus be enclosed in a circle, the centre of which would be occupied by Dumouriez with forty thousand men, who would thus be able to overwhelm the enemy at any point where they should attempt to make head against the French.

Impatient to take the field and to open for himself the vast career into which his ardent imagination impetuously rushed, Dumouriez pressed the arrival of the supplies which had been promised him in Paris, and which were to have been delivered on the 25th at Valenciennes. Servan had quitted the ministry of war, and had preferred to the chaos of administration the less arduous functions of commander of an army. He was recruiting his health and his spirits in his camp at the Pyrenees. Roland had proposed, and caused to be accepted as his successor, Pache,* a plain, intelligent, laborious man, who, having formerly left France to reside in Switzerland, had returned at the epoch of the Revolution, resigned a pension which he received from the Marshal de Castrie, and distinguished himself in the office of the interior by extraordinary talent and application. Carrying a piece of bread in his pocket, and never quitting the office to take refreshment, he stuck to

* See Appendix X.

business for whole days together, and had pleased Roland by his manners and his assiduity. Servan had made application for him during his difficult administration in August and September, and it was with regret, and only in consideration of the importance of the business of the war department, that Roland had given him up to Servan.

In his new post Pache rendered as good service as in the former; and when the place of minister at war became vacant, he was immediately proposed to fill it, as one of those obscure but valuable men to whom justice and the public interest must ensure rapid favour.

Mild and modest, Pache pleased everybody, and could not fail to be accepted. The Girondins naturally reckoned upon the political moderation of so quiet, so discreet a man, and who, moreover, was indebted to them for his fortune. The Jacobins, who found him full of deference for them, extolled his modesty, and contrasted it with what they termed the pride and the harshness of Roland. Dumouriez, on his part, was delighted with a minister who appeared to be more manageable than the Girondins, and more disposed to follow his views. He had, in fact, a new subject of complaint against Roland. The latter had written to him, in the name of the council, a letter, in which he reproached him with being too desirous to force his plans upon the ministry, and in which he expressed a distrust proportionate to the talents that he was supposed to possess. Roland was well-meaning, and what he said in the secrecy of correspondence he would have combated in public. Dumouriez, misconceiving the honest intention of Roland, had made his complaints to Pache, who had received them, and soothed him by his flattery for the jealousies of his colleagues. Such was the new minister at war. Placed between the Jacobins, the Girondins, and Dumouriez, listening to the complaints of the one against the other, he won them all by fair words and by deference, and caused all of them to hope to find in him a second and a friend.

Dumouriez attributed to the changes in the offices the delay which he experienced in the supply of the army. Only half of the munitions and accoutrements which had been promised him had arrived, and he commenced his march without waiting for the rest, writing to Pache that it was indispensably requisite that he should be furnished with thirty thousand pair of shoes, twenty-five thousand blankets, camp necessaries for forty thousand men, and above all, two millions in specie, for the supply of the soldiers, who, on entering a country where assignats were not current, would have to pay for everything

they purchased in ready money. He was promised all that he demanded: and Dumouriez, exciting the ardour of his troops, encouraging them by the prospect of a certain and speedy conquest, pushed on with them, though destitute of what was necessary for a winter campaign in so severe a climate.

The march of Valence, delayed by a diversion upon Longwy, and the want of military supplies of all sorts, which did not arrive till November, permitted Clairfayt to pass without obstacle from Luxembourg into Belgium, and to join Duke Albert with twelve thousand men. Dumouriez, giving up for the moment his intention of employing Valence, made General d'Harville's division move towards him, and marching his troops between Quarouble and Quievrain, hastened to overtake the hostile army. Duke Albert, adhering to the Austrian system, had formed a cordon from Tournay to Mons, and though he had thirty thousand men, he had scarcely twenty thousand collected before the city of Mons. Dumouriez, pressing him closely, arrived on the 3rd of November before the mill of Boussu, and ordered his advanced guard, commanded by the brave Beurnonville, to dislodge the enemy posted on the heights. The attack, at first successful, was afterwards repulsed, and our advanced guard was obliged to retire. Dumouriez, sensible how important it was not to fall back on the first onset, again sent Beurnonville forward, carried all the enemy's posts, and on the evening of the 5th found himself in presence of the Austrians, entrenched on the heights skirting the city of Mons.

On these heights, forming a circular range in front of the place, are situated three villages, Jemappes, Cuesmes, and Berthaimont. The Austrians, who expected to be attacked there, had formed the imprudent resolution of maintaining their position, and had long been taking the greatest pains to render it impregnable. Clairfayt occupied Jemappes and Cuesmes. A little farther, Beaulieu* was encamped above Berthaimont. Rapid slopes, woods, abattis, fourteen redoubts, a formidable artillery ranged stage-wise, and twenty thousand men, protected these positions, and rendered approach to them almost impossible. Tyrolese sharpshooters filled the woods which extended at the foot of the heights. The cavalry, posted in the intervals between the hills, and especially in the hollow which separates Jemappes from Cuesmes, were ready to débouch and to rush upon our columns as soon as they should be staggered by the fire of the batteries.

* See Appendix Y.

It was in presence of this camp, so strongly entrenched, that Dumouriez established himself. He formed his army in a semicircle parallel to the positions of the enemy. General d'Harville, whose junction with the main body had been effected on the evening of the 5th, was ordered to manœuvre on the extreme right of our line. Skirting Beaulieu's positions on the morning of the 6th, he was to strive to turn them, and then to occupy the heights behind Mons, the only retreat of the Austrians. Beurnonville, forming at the same time the right of our attack, was ordered to march upon the village of Cuesmes. The Duc de Chartres,* who served in our army with the rank of general, and who on that day commanded the centre, was to take Jemappes in front, and to endeavour at the same time to penetrate through the hollow which separates Jemappes from Cuesmes. Lastly, General Ferrand, invested with the command of the left, was directed to pass through a little village named Quaregnon, and to move upon the flank of Jemappes. All these attacks were to be executed in columns by battalions. The cavalry was ready to support them in rear and upon the flanks. Our artillery was so placed as to batter each redoubt in flank, and to silence its fire if possible. A reserve of infantry and cavalry awaited the result behind the rivulet of Wame.

In the night between the 5th and 6th, General Beaulieu proposed to sally from the entrenchments, and to rush unawares upon the French, in order to disconcert them by a sudden nocturnal attack. This energetic advice was not followed, and at eight o'clock on the morning of the 6th the French were in order of battle, full of courage and hope, though under a galling fire and in sight of almost inaccessible entrenchments. Sixty thousand men covered the field of battle, and one hundred pieces of cannon thundered along the fronts of both armies.

The cannonade began early in the morning. Dumouriez ordered Generals Ferrand and Beurnonville to commence the attack, the one on the left, the other on the right, while he himself in the centre would await the moment for action, and d'Harville, skirting Beaulieu's positions, was to intercept the retreat. Ferrand attacked faintly, and Beurnonville did not succeed in silencing the fire of the Austrians. It was eleven o'clock, and the enemy was not sufficiently shaken on the flanks to enable Dumouriez to attack him in front. The French general then sent his faithful Thouvenot to the

* See Appendix Z.

left wing to decide the success. Thouvenot, putting an end to a useless cannonade, passed through Quaregnon, turned Jemappes, and marching rapidly with bayonets fixed, ascended the side of the hill, and arrived on the flank of the Austrians.

Dumouriez, being apprized of this movement, resolved to commence the attack in front, and pushed on the centre direct against Jemappes. He made his infantry advance in columns, and placed hussars and dragoons to cover the hollow between Jemappes and Cuesmes, from which the enemy's cavalry was about to rush. Our troops formed, and passed without hesitation the intermediate space. One brigade, however, seeing the Austrian cavalry debouching by the hollow, paused, fell back, and uncovered the flank of our columns. At this moment young Baptiste Renard, who was merely a servant of Dumouriez, impelled by an inspiration of courage and intelligence, ran to the general of that brigade, reproached him with his weakness, and led him back to the hollow. A certain wavering had manifested itself throughout the whole centre, and our battalions began to be thrown into disorder by the fire of the batteries. The Duc de Chartres, throwing himself amidst the ranks, rallied them, formed around him a battalion, which he called the battalion of Jemappes, and urged it on vigorously against the enemy. The battle was thus restored, and Clairfayt, already taken in flank, and threatened in front, nevertheless resisted with heroic firmness.

Dumouriez, observing all these movements, but uncertain of success, hastened to the right, where the combat was yet undecided, in spite of the efforts of Beurnonville. His intention was to terminate the attack abruptly, or else to make his right wing fall back, and to employ it so as to protect the centre, in case a retrograde movement should be necessary.

Beurnonville had made vain efforts against the village of Cuesmes, and he was about to fall back, when Dampierre,* who commanded one of the points of attack, taking with him a few companies, dashed boldly into the midst of a redoubt. Dumouriez came up at the very moment when Dampierre was making this courageous attempt. He found the rest of his battalions without a commander, exposed to a terrible fire, and hesitating in presence of the imperial hussars, who were preparing to charge them. These battalions were the same that had so strongly attached themselves to Dumouriez in the camp of Maulde. He cheered and encouraged them to stand firm against the enemy's cavalry. A discharge at the muzzles

* See Appendix AA.

of the guns checked the cavalry, and Berchini's hussars, rushing most seasonably upon them, put them completely to flight. Dumouriez then placing himself at the head of the battalions, and striking up with them the hymn of the Marseillais, led them on against the entrenchments, overthrowing all before him, and taking the village of Cuesmes.

No sooner was this exploit achieved than Dumouriez, still uneasy on account of the centre, returned at full gallop, followed by some squadrons; but he was met on the way by the young Duc de Montpensier, who came to inform him of the victory of the centre, owing principally to his brother, the Duc de Chartres. Jemappes being thus taken in flank and front, and Cuesmes having been carried, Clairfayt could make no further resistance, and was obliged to retreat. Accordingly he quitted the ground, after an admirable defence, and abandoned to Dumouriez a dearly-bought victory. It was now two o'clock, and our troops, harassed with fatigue, demanded a moment's rest. Dumouriez granted it them, and halted on the very heights of Jemappes and Cuesmes. He reckoned for the pursuit of the enemy upon d'Harville, who had been directed to turn Berthaimont, and to cut off the retreat of the Austrians. But the order being neither sufficiently clear nor rightly understood, d'Harville had stopped before Berthaimont, and had uselessly cannonaded its heights. Clairfayt retreated, therefore, under the protection of Beaulieu, who had not been touched, and both took the road to Brussels, which d'Harville had not intercepted.

The battle had cost the Austrians fifteen hundred prisoners, and four thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and the French nearly as many. Dumouriez disguised his loss, and admitted it to amount only to a few hundred men. He has been censured for not having turned the enemy by marching upon his right, and thus taking him in the rear, instead of persisting in the attack of the left and the centre. He had an idea of doing so when he ordered d'Harville to turn Berthaimont, but he did not adhere to that intention. His vivacity, which frequently prevented reflection, and the desire of achieving a brilliant action, caused him at Jemappes, as throughout the whole campaign, to prefer an attack in front. At any rate, abounding in presence of mind and ardour in the midst of action, he had roused the spirit of our troops, and communicated to them heroic courage. The sensation produced by this important battle was prodigious. The victory of Jemappes instantaneously filled all France with joy, and Europe with new surprise. Nothing was talked of

but the fact of the coolness with which the Austrian artillery had been confronted, and the intrepidity displayed in storming their redoubts. The danger and the victory were even exaggerated, and throughout all Europe the faculty of gaining great battles was again awarded to the French.

In Paris all the sincere republicans were overjoyed at the tidings, and prepared grand festivities. Dumouriez's servant, young Baptiste Renard, was presented to the Convention, which conferred on him a civic crown and the epaulette of officer. The Girondins, out of patriotism, out of justice, applauded the success of the general. The Jacobins, though suspecting him, applauded also, because they could not help admiring the successes of the Revolution. Marat* alone, reproaching all the French for their infatuation, asserted that Dumouriez must have misrepresented the number of his slain, that a hill is not to be attacked at so little cost, that he had not taken either baggage or artillery, that the Austrians had gone away quietly, that it was a retreat rather than a defeat, that Dumouriez might have attacked the enemy in a different manner: and mingling with this sagacity an atrocious rage for calumny, he added that this attack in front had been made merely for the purpose of sacrificing the brave battalions of Paris; that his colleagues in the Convention, at the Jacobins, in short, all the French, so ready to admire, were simpletons; and that, for his part, he should admit Dumouriez to be a good general when he should have subdued all Belgium without suffering a single Austrian to escape, and a good patriot when Belgium should be thoroughly revolutionized and rendered completely free. "As for the rest of you," said he, "with that disposition for admiring everything on a sudden, you are liable to fly as suddenly to the contrary extreme. One day you proscribe Montesquieu. You are told on the next that he has conquered Savoy, and you applaud him. Again you proscribe him, and render yourselves a general laughing-stock by these inconsistencies. For my part, I am distrustful, and always accuse; and as to the inconveniences of this disposition, they are incomparably less than those of the contrary disposition, for they never compromise the public welfare. They are no doubt liable to lead me into mistakes respecting some individuals: but considering the

* "In the year 1774 Marat resided at Edinburgh, where he taught the French language, and published, in English, a volume entitled the 'Chains of Slavery;' a work wherein the clandestine and villainous attempts of princes to ruin liberty are pointed out, and dreadful scenes of despotism disclosed; to which is prefixed an address to the electors of Great Britain." *Universal Biography*.

corruption of the age, and the multitude of enemies to all liberty, from education, from principle, and from interest, I would lay a thousand to one that I shall not be wrong in considering all of them together as intriguers and public scoundrels ready to engage in any machinations. I am therefore a thousand times less likely to be mistaken respecting the public functionaries; and while the mischievous confidence reposed in them enables them to plot against the country with equal boldness and security, the everlasting distrust which the public should entertain for them, agreeably to my principles, would not allow them to take a single step without dread of being unmasked and punished.”*

By this battle Belgium was opened to the French; but there strange difficulties met Dumouriez, and two striking scenes presented themselves: on the conquered territory the French Revolution acting upon the neighbouring revolutions for the purpose of accelerating or assimilating them to itself; and in our army a demagogue spirit penetrating into the administrations, and disorganizing for the purpose of purifying them. There were in Belgium several parties. The first, that of the Austrian domination, was confined to the imperial armies driven back by Dumouriez. The second, composed of the whole nation, nobles, priests, magistrates, people, unanimously detested a foreign yoke, and desired the independence of the Belgian nation. But this latter was divided into two others: the priests and the privileged persons wished to retain the old states, the old institutions, the demarcations of classes and provinces, in short, everything but the Austrian domination, and they had in their favour part of the population still extremely superstitious and strongly attached to the clergy. Lastly, the demagogues, or Belgian Jacobins, were desirous of a complete revolution and the sovereignty of the people. These last demanded the adoption of the French model, and absolute equality. Thus each party desired only just so much of revolution as suited its own purpose. The privileged wanted nothing more of it but their former condition. The plebeians wanted mob supremacy and mob rule.

It is natural to suppose that Dumouriez, with his predilections, must have steered a middle course between these different parties. Discarding Austria, which he was combating with his troops, condemning the exclusive pretensions of the privileged orders, he had nevertheless no wish to transfer the Jacobins of Paris to Brussels, and to cause Chabots

* *Journal de la République Française*, by Marat, the Friend of the People, No. 43. Monday, November 12, 1792.

and Marats to spring up there. His object, therefore, was to interfere as little as possible with the former organization of the country, while reforming such parts of it as were too feudal. The enlightened portion of the population was favourable to these views; but it was difficult to mould it into a whole, on account of the little connection that subsisted between cities and provinces; and moreover, in forming it into an Assembly he would have exposed it to the risk of being conquered by the violent party. If, however, he could have succeeded, Dumouriez thought, either by means of an alliance or a union, to attach Belgium to the French empire, and thus to complete our territory. He was particularly solicitous to prevent peculations, to secure for himself the immense resources of the country for war, and not to offend any class, that he might not have his army destroyed by an insurrection. He intended more especially to spare the clergy, who still possessed great influence over the minds of the people. He therefore meditated things which the experience of revolutions demonstrates to be impossible, and which all administrative and political genius must renounce beforehand with entire resignation. We shall presently see his plans and his projects unfolding themselves.

On entering the country he promised, in a proclamation, to respect property, person, and the national independence. He ordered that everything should remain as it then stood; that the authorities should retain their functions; that the taxes should continue to be levied; and that primary assemblies should forthwith meet, for the purpose of forming a National Convention, that should decide upon the fate of Belgium.

Serious difficulties of a different nature were starting up against him. Motives of policy, of public welfare, of humanity, might make him desirous of a prudent and moderate revolution in Belgium: but it behoved him to procure subsistence for his army, and this was his personal affair. He was a general, and above all, he was obliged to be victorious. To this end he had need of discipline and resources. Having entered Mons on the morning of the 7th, amidst the rejoicings of the Brabanters, who decreed crowns to him and to the brave Dampierre, he found himself in the greatest embarrassment. His commissaries were at Valenciennes; none of the supplies promised him had arrived. He wanted clothing for the soldiers, who were half naked, provisions, horses for his artillery, and light carts to second the movement of the invasion, especially in a country where transport was extremely difficult: lastly, specie to pay the troops, because the people of Belgium disliked to

take assignats. The emigrants had circulated great quantities of forged ones, and thus thrown discredit on that kind of paper; besides, no nation is fond of participating in the embarrassments of another by taking the paper which represents its debts.

The impetuosity of Dumouriez's character, which was carried to imprudence, would not allow it to be believed that he could have tarried from the 7th to the 11th at Mons, and left the Duke of Saxe-Teschen to retreat unmolested, had not details of administration detained him in spite of his teeth, and engrossed that attention which ought to have been exclusively fixed on military matters. He conceived a very judicious plan, namely, to contract with the Belgians for provisions, forage, and other supplies. This course was attended with many advantages. The articles of consumption were on the spot, and there was no fear of delay. These purchases would give many of the Belgians an interest in the presence of the French armies. The sellers, being paid in assignats, would themselves be obliged to favour their circulation: there would thus be no need to enforce that circulation—an important point; for every person into whose hands a forced currency comes considers himself as robbed by the authority which imposes it; and a way of more universally offending a nation cannot be devised. Dumouriez had some thoughts of another expedient, namely, to raise loans from the clergy under the guarantee of France. These loans would supply him with specie, and though they would put the clergy to momentary inconvenience, yet the very circumstance of negotiating with them would dispel all apprehensions respecting their existence and possessions. Lastly, as France would have to demand of the Belgians indemnities for the expenses of a war undertaken for their liberation, these indemnities would be applied to the payment of the loans; and by means of a slight balance the whole cost of the war would be paid, and Dumouriez would have lived, as he had promised to do, at the expense of Belgium, without oppressing or disorganizing that country.

But these were plans of genius, and in times of revolution it seems that genius ought to take a decided part. It ought either to foresee the disorders and the outrages which are likely to ensue, and to retire immediately; or, foreseeing, to resign itself to them, and to consent to be violent in order to continue to be serviceable at the head of the armies or of the State. No man has been sufficiently detached from the things of this world to adopt the former course. There is one who has been great, and who has kept himself pure while pursuing the

latter. It was he who, placed by the side of the public welfare, without participating in its political acts, confined himself to the concerns of war, and *organized victory**—a thing pure, allowable, and always patriotic under every system of government.

Dumouriez had employed for his contracts and his financial operations Malus, a commissary, to whom he was strongly attached, because he had found him clever and active, without caring much whether he was moderate in his profits. He had also made use of one d'Espagnac,† formerly a libertine abbé, one of those unprincipled men of talent of the old régime, who could turn their hands to any trade with abundance of grace and skill, but left behind them an equivocal reputation in all. Dumouriez despatched him to the ministry to explain his plans, and to obtain the ratification of all the engagements which he had contracted. He already afforded ground for censure by the kind of administrative dictatorship which he assumed, and by the revolutionary moderation which he manifested in regard to the Belgians, without as yet compromising himself by his association with men who were already suspected, or who, if they actually were not then, were soon to become so. At this moment, in fact, a general murmur arose against the old administrations, which were full, it was said, of rogues and aristocrats.

Dumouriez, having attended to the supply of his troops, was occupied in accelerating the march of Labourdonnaye. That general, having persisted in lagging behind, had not entered Tournay till very recently, and there he had excited scenes worthy of the Jacobins, and levied heavy contributions. Dumouriez ordered him to march rapidly upon Ghent and the Scheldt, to proceed to Antwerp, and then to complete the circuit of the country to the Meuse. Valence, having at length arrived in line after involuntary delays, was ordered to be on the 13th or 14th at Nivelles. Dumouriez, conceiving that the Duke of Saxe-Teschén would retire behind the canal of Vilvorden, intended that Valence should turn the forest of Soignies, get behind the canal, and there receive the Duke at the passage of the Dyle.

* M. Thiers here alludes to Carnot, who, to quote the language of Napoleon, "organized victory." This eminent republican was a member of the frightful committee of public safety; "but it has been said in his defence," observes a competent authority, "that he did not meddle with its atrocities, limiting himself entirely to the war department, for which he showed so much talent that his colleagues left it to his exclusive management. He first daringly claimed for France her natural boundaries; and he conquered by his genius the countries which his ambition claimed."

† See Appendix BB.

On the 11th he set out from Mons, slowly following the enemy's army, which was retiring in good order, but very leisurely. Ill served by his conveyances, he could not come up with sufficient despatch to make amends for the delays to which he had been subjected. On the 13th, while advancing in person with a mere advanced guard, he fell in with the enemy at Anderlech, and had well-nigh been surrounded; but with his usual skill and firmness he deployed his little force, and made such a show of a few pieces of artillery that he had with him as to cause the Austrians to believe that he was on the field of battle with his whole army. He thus succeeded in keeping them off till he had time to be relieved by his soldiers, who, on being apprized of his dangerous situation, advanced at full speed to disengage him.

On the 14th he entered Brussels, and there he was detained by fresh administrative embarrassments, having neither money nor any of the resources requisite for the maintenance of the troops. He there learned that the ministry had refused to ratify the contracts which he had made, excepting one, and that all the former military administrations had been dismissed, and their place supplied by a committee called the committee of contracts. This committee alone was for the future to have a right to purchase supplies for the troops—a business with which the generals were not to be permitted to interfere in any way whatever. This was the commencement of a revolution which was preparing in the administration, and which was about to plunge them for a time into complete disorganization.

The administrations which require long practice or a special application are those which a revolution is longest in reaching, because they excite least ambition, and besides, the necessity for keeping capable men in them secures them from arbitrary changes. Accordingly, scarcely any change had been made in the staffs, in the scientific corps of the army, in the offices of the different ministers, in the old victualling office, and above all, in the navy, which, of all the departments of the military art, is that which requires the most special qualifications. Hence people did not fail to cry out against the aristocrats, with whom those bodies were filled, and the executive council was censured for not appointing others in their stead. The victualling department was the one against which the greatest irritation was excited. Just censures were levelled at the contractors, who, winked at by the State, but more especially under favour of this moment of disorder, required exorbitant prices in all their bargains, supplied the troops with the worst

articles, and impudently robbed the public. On all sides one general cry was raised against their extortions. They had a most inexorable adversary in Cambon,* the deputy of Montpellier. Passionately addicted to the study of finance and political economy, this deputy had acquired a great ascendancy in discussions of this nature, and enjoyed the entire confidence of the Assembly. Though a decided democrat, he had never ceased to inveigh against the exactions of the commune, and he astonished those who did not comprehend that he condemned as a financier the irregularities which he would perhaps have excused as a Jacobin. He launched out with still greater energy against all contractors, and followed them up with all the zeal of his disposition. Every day he denounced new frauds, and required that a stop should be put to them, and on this point all agreed with him. Honest men, because they wished rogues to be punished; Jacobins, because they loved to persecute aristocrats; and intriguers, because they wished to make vacant places.

The idea was therefore conceived of forming a committee composed of a few individuals, appointed to make all contracts on behalf of the republic. It was conceived that this committee, sole and responsible, would spare the State the frauds of the host of separate contractors, and that purchasing alone for all the administrations, it would not cause prices to be raised by competition, as was the case when each minister and each army bargained individually for their respective supplies. This measure was adopted with the approbation of all the ministers; and Cambon in particular was its warmest partisan, because this new and simple form was agreeable to his absolute mind. It was intimated, therefore, to Dumouriez that he would have no more contracts to make, and he was ordered to cancel those which he had just signed. The chests of the paymasters were at the same time suppressed; and with such rigour was the execution enforced that difficulties were made about the payment of a loan advanced by a Belgian merchant to the army upon a bond of Dumouriez.

This revolution in the victualling department, originating in a laudable motive, concurred unfortunately with circumstances that soon rendered its effects disastrous. Servan had during his ministry to supply the first wants of the troops hastily collected in Champagne, and it was accomplishing much to have relieved the embarrassments of the first moment.

* See Appendix CC.

But after the campaign of the Argonne, the supplies brought together with such difficulty were exhausted: the volunteers, who had left home with a single coat, were almost naked, and it was necessary to furnish each of the armies with a complete equipment: and this renewal of the whole of the *matériel* had to be provided for in the heart of winter, and notwithstanding the rapidity of the invasion of Belgium. Pache, Servan's successor, had consequently a prodigious task to perform, and unluckily, though a man of great intelligence and application, he had an easy and supple disposition, which, inducing a desire to please everybody, especially the Jacobins, prevented him from commanding any one, and from imparting the requisite energy to a vast administration. If then we add to the urgency and immense extent of the wants of the troops, to the difficulties of the season, and the necessity for great promptitude, the weakness of a new ministry, the general disorder of the State, and above all, a revolution in the administrative system, we shall have some conception of the utter destitution of the armies, their bitter complaints, and the vehemence of the reproaches between the generals and the ministers.

At the intelligence of these administrative changes Dumouriez was violently enraged. During the interval occupied by the organization of the new system, he saw his army exposed to the risk of perishing from want, unless the contracts which he had concluded were upheld and executed. He therefore took it upon himself to maintain them, and ordered his agents, Malus, d'Espagnac, and a third named Petit-Jean, to continue their operations upon his own responsibility. He wrote at the same time to the minister in so high a tone as to increase the suspicions entertained by jealous, distrustful demagogues, dissatisfied with his revolutionary lukewarmness and his administrative dictatorship. He declared that if he was expected to continue his services, he required to be allowed to provide for the wants of his army. He insisted that the committee of contracts was an absurdity, because it would export laboriously, and from a distance, that which was to be obtained more easily upon the spot; that the carriage would occasion enormous expense and delays, during which the armies would perish of hunger, cold, and privation; that the Belgians would lose all interest in the presence of the French, and no longer assist the circulation of assignats; that the pillage of the contractors would continue just the same, because the facility of robbing the State in the furnishing of supplies always had made, and always would make, men

plunderers; and that nothing would prevent the members of the committee of contracts from turning contractors and purchasers, though forbidden to do so by the law; that it was therefore a mere dream of economy, which, were it even not chimerical, would produce for a moment a disastrous interruption in the different services. What tended not a little to exasperate Dumouriez against the committee of contracts was, that in the members who composed it he beheld creatures of Clavières, the minister, and that he regarded the measure as arising from the jealousy felt towards himself by the Girondins. It was nevertheless a measure adopted in honest sincerity, and approved of on all sides, without any party motives.

Pache, like a firm and patriotic minister, ought to have endeavoured to satisfy the general, in order to secure the continuance of his services to the republic. To this end he ought to have investigated his demands, ascertained what part of them was just, adopted it, rejected the rest, and have conducted all matters with authority and vigour, so as to prevent reproaches, disputes, and confusion. Instead of this, Pache, already charged by the Girondins with weakness, and unfavourably disposed towards them, suffered himself to be jostled between them, the general, the Jacobins, and the Convention. In the council he communicated the hasty letters in which Dumouriez openly complained of the distrust of the Girondin ministers in regard to him. In the Convention he made known the imperative demands of Dumouriez, and the offer of his resignation in case of their refusal. Censuring nothing, but explaining nothing, and affecting a scrupulous fidelity in his reports, he suffered everything to produce its most mischievous effects.

The Girondins, the Convention, the Jacobins, were each irritated in their own way by the high tone of the general. Cambon inveighed against Malus, d'Espagnac, and Petit-Jean, quoted the prices of their contracts, which were exorbitant, dwelt on the prodigal licentiousness of d'Espagnac and the former peculations of Petit-Jean, and caused a decree to be issued by the Assembly against all three. He declared that Dumouriez was surrounded by intriguers, from whom it was necessary to deliver him; he maintained that the committee of contracts was an excellent institution; that to take articles of consumption from the theatre of war was depriving French artisans of work, and running the risk of seditions on account of want of employment; that with regard to assignats, there was no need whatever for contrivance to make them circulate;

that the general was wrong not to make them pass current by authority, and not to transport into Belgium the entire Revolution, with its form of government, its systems, and its money; and that the Belgians, to whom they were giving liberty, ought along with it to take its advantages and its disadvantages. At the tribune of the Convention, Dumouriez was considered merely as having been duped by his agents; but at the Jacobins, and in Marat's paper, it was flatly asserted that he was a partner with them, and shared their gains, of which, however, there was no other proof than the too frequent example of generals.

Dumouriez was therefore obliged to deliver up the three commissaries, and he had the further mortification to see them arrested, in spite of the guarantee which he had given them. Pache wrote to him with his accustomed mildness, intimating that his demands should be examined, that his wants should be supplied, and that the committee of contracts would make considerable purchases for this purpose. He informed him at the same time that large convoys had been despatched, though this was not the case. Nothing arrived, and Dumouriez was perpetually complaining; so that to read, on the one hand, the letters of the minister, one would have imagined that there was abundance of everything, while those of the general, on the other, would induce a belief in absolute destitution. Dumouriez had recourse to expedients, to loans from the chapters of churches: he subsisted upon a contract made by Malus, which he was allowed to maintain, owing to the urgency of the occasion; and he was again detained from the 14th to the 19th at Brussels.

During this interval, Stengel, detached with the advanced guard, had taken Malines. This was an important capture, on account of the stores of gunpowder and arms of every kind which that place contained, and which made it the arsenal of Belgium. Labourdonnaye, who had entered Antwerp on the 18th, was organizing clubs, alienating the Belgians by the encouragement which he gave to popular agitators, and meanwhile neglecting to act vigorously in the siege of the castle. Dumouriez, unable to put up any longer with a lieutenant who attended so much to clubs and so little to war, sent as his successor Miranda, a Peruvian of extraordinary bravery who had come to France at the epoch of the Revolution, and obtained high rank through the friendship of Petion. Labourdonnaye, deprived of his command, and returning to the department of the North, took pains to inflame the zeal of the Jacobins there against *Cesar*

*Dumouriez**—the name which began already to be given to the general.

The enemy had at first intended to place himself behind the canal of Vilvorden, and to keep in communication with Antwerp. He thus committed the same fault as *Dumouriez* did when he meant to approach the Scheldt, instead of running along the Meuse, as they ought both to have done, the one to effect, the other to prevent, his retreat. At length *Clairfayt*, who had assumed the command, felt the necessity of promptly recrossing the Meuse and leaving Antwerp to its fate. *Dumouriez* then ordered *Valence* to march from Nivelles upon Namur, and to lay siege to that place. It was a grievous blunder that he committed not to direct him, on the contrary, along the Meuse, in order to cut off the retreat of the Austrians. The defeat of the defensive army would naturally have led to the surrender of the place. But the example of grand strategical manœuvres had not yet been set, and moreover, *Dumouriez*, in this instance, as on many other occasions, lacked the necessary reflection. He set out from Brussels on the 19th, passed through Louvain on the 20th, overtook the enemy on the 22nd at Tirlemont, and killed three or four hundred of his men. Thence, detained once more by absolute want,⁴ he did not set out before the 26th. On the 27th he arrived before Liege, and had to sustain a brisk action at Varoux with the rearguard of the enemy. General *Starai*, who commanded it, defended himself gloriously, and received a mortal wound. At length, on the morning of the 28th, *Dumouriez* entered Liege amidst the acclamations of the people, who there entertained the most revolutionary sentiments. *Miranda* had taken the citadel of Antwerp on the 29th, and was enabled to complete the circuit of Belgium by marching as far as Ruremonde. *Valence* occupied Namur on the 2nd of December. *Clairfayt* proceeded towards the Roer, and *Beaulieu* towards Luxembourg.

At this moment all Belgium was occupied as far as the Meuse; but the country to the Rhine still remained to be conquered, and *Dumouriez* had to encounter great difficulties. Either owing to the difficulty of conveyance or the negligence of the offices, nothing reached his army; and though there were considerable stores at Valenciennes, yet there was a want of everything on the Meuse. *Pache*, in order to gratify the *Jacobins*, had opened his office to them, and the utmost

* "Though I were to be called 'Cæsar,' 'Cromwell,' or 'Monk,' I will save my country, in spite of the *Jacobins*, and the conventional regicides who protect them. I will re-establish the constitution of 1791."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs*.

confusion prevailed there. Business was neglected, and from inattention the most contradictory orders were issued. All duty, therefore, was rendered nearly impossible; and while the minister believed that convoys were despatched, nothing of the sort had been done. The institution of the committee of contracts had served to increase the disorder.

The new commissary, named Ronsin,* who had succeeded Malus and d'Espagnac on denouncing them, was in the utmost embarrassment. Most unfavourably received by the army, he had been deterred from fulfilling his commission, and in spite of the recent decisions, continued to make contracts on the spot. The army had in consequence been supplied with bread and butcher's meat; but it was absolutely destitute of clothing, the means of transport, ready money, and forage, and all the horses were dying of hunger. Another calamity thinned that army, namely, desertion. The volunteers, who in the first enthusiasm had hastened to Champagne, had cooled after the moment of danger was past. They were moreover disgusted by the privations of all kinds which they had to endure, and deserted in great numbers. The corps of Dumouriez alone had lost at least ten thousand, and was daily losing more. The Belgian levies, which the French flattered themselves with the prospect of raising, were not brought to bear, because it was almost impossible to organize a country where the different classes of the population and the different provinces of the territory were by no means disposed to agree. Liege was deeply imbued with the spirit of the Revolution; but Brabant and Flanders beheld with distrust the ascendancy of the Jacobins in the clubs which efforts had been made to establish in Ghent, Antwerp, Brussels, and other towns. The people of Belgium were not on the best terms with our soldiers, who wanted to pay in assignats. Nowhere would they take our paper money, and Dumouriez refused to give it a forced circulation. Thus, though victorious and in possession of the country, the army was in an unfortunate situation, owing to want, desertion, and the uncertain and almost unfavourable disposition of the inhabitants. The Convention, puzzled by the contradictory reports of the general, who most bitterly complained, and the minister, who declared, with modesty but with confidence, that abundant supplies had been despatched, sent four commissioners, selected from among its members, to ascertain with their own eyes the real state of affairs. These four commissioners were Danton, Camus, Lacroix,† and Cossuin.

* See Appendix DD.

† See Appendices EE and FF.

While Dumouriez had employed the month of November in occupying Belgium as far as the Meuse, Custine, still over-running the environs of Frankfort and the Maine, was threatened by the Prussians, who were ascending the Lahn. He had been desirous that the whole stress of the war should take place in his direction, for the purpose of covering his rear, and protecting his silly incursions into Germany. Accordingly he was incessantly complaining of Dumouriez, because he did not arrive at Cologne, and of Kellermann, for not proceeding to Coblenz. We have seen what difficulties prevented Dumouriez from advancing more expeditiously and rendering Kellermann's movement possible. Custine,* relinquishing incursions which drew forth acclamations from the tribune of the Jacobins and the newspapers, must have confined himself within the boundary of the Rhine, and fortifying Mayence, made up his mind to descend to Coblenz. But he wished everything to be done in his rear, that he might have the honour of taking the offensive in Germany. Urged by his solicitations and complaints, the executive council recalled Kellermann, appointed Beurnonville his successor, and gave the latter tardy instructions to take Trèves, in a very advanced season, and in a country not only poor, but difficult to occupy. There had never been more than one good way of executing this enterprise, namely, to march at first between Luxembourg and Trèves, and thus reach Coblenz, while Custine should proceed thither along the Rhine. The Prussians, still disheartened by their defeat in Champagne, would thus have been crushed; and at the same time a hand would have been lent to Dumouriez, who would have reached Cologne, or who would have been assisted to reach it if not already there.

In this manner Luxembourg and Trèves, which it was impossible to take by main force, must have fallen through famine and want of succour. But Custine, having persisted in his excursions in Wetteravia, and the army of the Moselle having continued in its cantonments, it was too late at the end of November to proceed thither for the purpose of supporting Custine against the Prussians, who had recovered their confidence and were ascending the Rhine. Beurnonville did not fail to urge these reasons; but people were in the mood to conquer; they wished to punish the Elector of Trèves for his conduct towards France; and Beurnonville was ordered to make an attack, which he attempted with as much ardour as

* "Custine, a general who had done much for the republic, used, when his fortune began to fail him, to account for his ill luck by saying, 'Fortune was a woman, and his hairs were growing gray.' " — *Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

if he had approved of it. After several brilliant and obstinate actions, he was obliged to relinquish the enterprise and to fall back upon Lorraine. In this situation Custine found himself compromised on the banks of the Maine; but he would not, by retiring, acknowledge his rashness and the insolidity of his conquest; and he persisted in maintaining himself there without any well-defended hope of success. He had placed in Frankfort a garrison of two thousand four hundred men, and though this force was wholly inadequate in an open place and amidst a population irritated by unjust imposts, he ordered the commandant to maintain his position; while he himself, posted at Ober Yssel and Haimburg, a little below Frankfort, affected a ridiculous firmness and determination. Such was the state of the army at this point, at the end of November and the beginning of December.

Nothing was yet accomplished along the Rhine. At the Alps, Montesquiou, whom we have seen negotiating with Switzerland, and striving at the same time to bring Geneva and the French ministry to reason, had been obliged to emigrate. An accusation had been preferred against him, because, it was alleged, he had compromised the dignity of France, by admitting into the plan of convention an article according to which our troops were to withdraw, and above all, by carrying this article into execution. A decree was launched against him, and he sought refuge at Geneva. But his work was rendered durable by its moderation; and while he was subjected to a decree of accusation, negotiations were carrying on with Geneva upon the bases which he had fixed. The Bernese troops retired; the French troops cantoned themselves at the distance agreed upon; the neutrality of Switzerland, so valuable to France, was secured, and one of her flanks was protected for several years. This important service had not been appreciated, owing to the declamation of Clavières, and owing likewise to the susceptibility of upstarts occasioned by our recent victories.

In the county of Nice we had gloriously recovered the post of Sospello, which the Piedmontese had for a moment taken from us, and which they had again lost after sustaining a considerable check. This success was due to the ability of General Brunet. Our fleets, which commanded the Mediterranean, sailed to Genoa, to Naples, where a branch of the house of Bourbon reigned, and to all the Italian States, to obtain their recognition of the new French republic. After a cannonade off Naples, its rulers recognized the republic, and our fleet returned proud of the concession which they had extorted. At the Pyrenees absolute immobility prevailed;

and owing to the want of means, Servan had the greatest difficulty to recompose the army of observation. Notwithstanding the enormous expenditure of from one hundred and eighty to two hundred millions per month, all the armies of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Moselle were in the same distress, from the disorganization of the services, and the confusion pervading the war department. Amidst all this wretchedness, however, the nation was not the less proud of and intoxicated with victory. At this moment, when men's imaginations were heated by Jemappes, by the capture of Frankfort, by the occupation of Savoy and Nice, by the sudden revulsion of European opinion in our favour, they fancied that they could hear the crash of monarchies, and for a moment indulged the notion that all other nations were about to overturn thrones, and to form themselves into republics. "Oh, that it were but true!" exclaimed a member of the Jacobins, with reference to the annexation of Savoy to France—"that it were but true that the awakening of nations had arrived; that it were but true that the overthrow of all thrones should be the speedy consequence of the success of our armies and of the revolutionary volcano; that it were true that the republican virtues should at length avenge the world for all the crimes of crowned heads; that every country, become free, should then frame a government conformable to the greater or less extent which nature has given to it; and that a certain number of extraordinary deputies from all these national conventions should form at the centre of the globe one general convention, to watch constantly over the maintenance of the rights of man and the universal freedom of commerce!"*

At this moment the Convention being apprized of certain harsh proceedings of the Duc de Deux-Ponts against some of his subjects, passed, in a fit of enthusiasm, the following decree:—

"The National Convention declares that it will grant succour and fraternity to all the nations that shall be desirous of recovering their liberty; and it charges the executive power to give orders to the generals of the French armies to aid those citizens who have been, or who shall be, harshly treated on account of liberty.

"The National Convention orders the generals of the French armies to cause the present decree to be printed and posted in all places to which they shall carry the arms of the republic.

"PARIS, *November 19, 1792.*"

* Speech of Milhaud, deputy of the Cantal, delivered at the Jacobins in November 1792.

THE TRIAL OF LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

THE trial of Louis XVI. was at length about to commence, and the parties awaited this occasion for measuring their strength, disclosing their intentions, and for forming a definitive judgment of one another. The Girondins in particular were closely watched by their adversaries, who were intent on detecting in them the slightest emotion of pity, and accusing them of royalism, in case they should betray the least feeling for fallen greatness.

The party of the Jacobins, which made war upon all monarchy in the person of Louis XVI., had certainly made progress; but it still met with strong opposition in Paris, and still greater in the rest of France. It domineered in the capital, by means of its club, the commune, and the sections; but the middle class resumed courage, and still made some resistance to it. Petion having refused the mayoralty, Chambon, the physician, had obtained a great majority of votes, and had reluctantly taken upon himself an office which was by no means suited to his moderate and unambitious disposition. This selection proves the power which the *bourgeoise* still possessed even in Paris. In the rest of France its power was much greater. The landed proprietors, the tradesmen, in short, all the middle classes, had not yet forsaken either the municipal councils, the councils of departments, or the popular societies, and sent addresses to the majority of the Convention, in harmony with the laws, and in a spirit of moderation. Many of the affiliated societies of the Jacobins censured the mother society, and loudly demanded the erasure of Marat, and some even that of Robespierre, from the list of its members. Lastly, new federalists were setting out from the Bouches du Rhône, Calvados, Finistère, and La Gironde, and anticipating the decrees, as on the 10th of August, were coming to protect the Convention, and to ensure its independence.

The Jacobins were not yet masters of the armies. From these the staffs and the military organization continued to keep them aloof. They had, however, secured to themselves one department of the administration—that of war. This had been

thrown open to them by Pache, from weakness, and he had dismissed all his old employés to make room for members of the club. These *thou'd* one another in his office, appeared there in squalid apparel, and made motions: among them were a great number of married priests, introduced by Andouin, Pache's son-in-law, and himself a married priest. One of the heads of this department was Hassenfratz, formerly resident at Metz, expatriated on account of bankruptcy, and who, like many others, had raised himself to a high office by displaying extraordinary democratic zeal. While the administrations of the army were thus renewed, all possible pains were taken to fill the army itself with a new class of persons and with new opinions. Hence it happened that while Roland was an object of the sworn hatred of the Jacobins, Pache was a favourite, and highly extolled by them. They lauded his mildness, his modesty, his extraordinary capacity, and contrasted them with the austerity of Roland, which they termed pride.

Roland, in fact, had not allowed the Jacobins any access to the office of his department. To superintend the reports of the constituted bodies, to bring back within bounds those which overstepped them, to maintain the public tranquillity, to watch the popular societies, to attend to the due supply of provisions, to protect trade and property; in short, to supervise the whole internal administration of the State—such were his immense duties, and he performed them with uncommon energy. Every day he denounced the commune, condemned the excess of its powers, its peculations, and its despatch of commissioners. He stopped its correspondence, as well as that of the Jacobins, and instead of their violent papers, he substituted others replete with moderation, which everywhere produced the best effect. He superintended all the property of emigrants which had devolved to the State, bestowed particular attention on the supply of the prime necessities of life, repressed disturbances of which they were the occasion, and multiplied himself, so to speak, to oppose law and force whenever he could to the revolutionary passions. It is easy to conceive what a difference the Jacobins must have made between Pache and Roland. The families of the two ministers contributed themselves to render this difference the more striking. Pache's wife and daughters went to the clubs and the sections; they even visited the barracks of the federalists, for the purpose of gaining them over to the cause, and distinguished themselves by a low Jacobinism from the polished and proud wife of Roland, who was moreover surrounded by those orators so eloquent and so detested.

Pache and Roland were therefore the two persons around whom the members of the council rallied. Clavières, at the head of the finances, though he was frequently embroiled with both from the extreme irritability of his temper, always returned to Roland when he was appeased. Lebrun, a weak man, but attached by his talents to the Girondins, received much assistance in business from Brissot; and the Jacobins called the latter an intriguer, and asserted that he was the master of the whole government, because he aided Lebrun in his diplomatic labours. Garat, contemplating parties from a metaphysical elevation, was content to judge, and did not deem himself bound to combat them. He seemed to think that because he discovered faults in the Girondins, he was justified in withholding his support from them, and a really wise course was the result of his weakness. The Jacobins, however, accepted the neutrality of so distinguished a mind as a valuable advantage, and repaid it with some commendations. Lastly, Monge,* an eminent mathematician, and a decided patriot, not very favourably disposed towards the somewhat vague theories of the Girondins, followed the example of Pache, suffered his office to be overrun by the Jacobins, and without disavowing the Girondins, to whom he owed his elevation, he received the praises of their adversaries, and shared in the popularity of Pache.

Thus the Jacobin party, finding two complaisant tools in Pache and Monge, an indifferent metaphysician in Garat, but an inexorable adversary in Roland, who rallied about him Lebrun and Clavières, and frequently brought over the others to his way of thinking—the Jacobin party had not yet in its hands the government of the State, and everywhere repeated that in the new order of things there was only a king the less, but that with this single exception there existed the same despotism, the same intrigues, and the same treasons. They asserted that the Revolution would not be complete and irrevocable till the secret author of all machinations and of all resistance, confined in the Temple, should be destroyed.

We observe what was the respective force of the parties, and the state of the Revolution, at the moment when the trial of Louis XVI. commenced. This Prince and his family occupied the great tower of the Temple. The communes, having the disposal of the armed force and the superintendence of the police of the capital, had also the guard of the Temple; and to its jealous, restless, and ungenerous authority

* See Appendix GG.

the royal family was subjected. That unfortunate family, being guarded by a class of men far inferior to that of which the Convention was composed, could not look either for that moderation or that respect which a good education and polished manners always inspire for adversity. It had at first been placed in the little tower, but afterwards removed to the larger, because it was thought that it could be watched there with greater ease and security. The King occupied one floor, and the Princesses, with the children, had another. In the day-time they were allowed to pass together the sorrowful moments of their captivity. A single attendant had obtained permission to follow them to their prison. This was the faithful Clery,* who, having escaped the massacres of the 10th of August, had returned to Paris to serve in misfortune those whom he had formerly served in the splendour of their power. He was accustomed to rise at daybreak, and strove by his assiduities to supply the place of the numerous servants who had once surrounded his employers. They breakfasted at nine o'clock in the King's apartment. At ten the whole family met in that of the Queen. Louis XVI. then occupied himself in instructing his son. He made him learn by heart passages in Racine and Corneille, and taught him the first rudiments of geography, a science which he had himself cultivated with great ardour and success. The Queen, on her part, attended to the education of her daughter, and then spent some time with her sister in working tapestry. At one o'clock when the weather was fine, the whole family was conducted into the garden, to take air and exercise. Several members of the municipality and officers of the guard accompanied them, and at times they met with kind and humane, at others with harsh and contemptuous faces.

Uncultivated men are rarely generous, and with them greatness when it has fallen is not to be forgiven. Let the reader figure to himself rude and ignorant artisans, masters of that family, whose power they reproached themselves with having so long endured, and whose profusion they had contributed to

* "Clery we have seen and known, and the form and manners of that model of pristine faith and loyalty can never be forgotten. Gentlemanlike and complaisant in his manners, his deep gravity and melancholy features announced that the sad scenes in which he had acted a part so honourable were never for a moment out of his memory. He died at Hitzing, near Vienna, in 1809. In the year 1817, Louis XVIII. gave letters of nobility to his daughter."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

"Louis XVI. was attended during the whole term of his imprisonment and in his last moments by his old servant Clery, who never left him. The names of those who are faithful in misfortune are sacred in the page of history!"—*Hazlitt.*

supply, and he will be able to conceive what low revenge they must sometimes have wreaked upon it.* The King and Queen were frequently doomed to hear cruel remarks, and found upon the walls of the courts and corridors the expressions of the hatred which the former government had often merited, but which neither Louis XVI. nor his consort had done anything to excite.† Sometimes, however, they found relief in furtive demonstrations of interest, and they continued these painful walks on account of their children, who needed such exercise. While they sadly traversed the court of the Temple they perceived at the windows of the neighbouring houses a great number of old subjects still attached to their sovereign, and who came to survey the narrow space in which the fallen monarch was confined.‡ At two o'clock the walk finished, and dinner was served. After dinner, the King lay down, and during his nap his wife, sister, and daughter worked in silence, while Clery, in another room, exercised the young Prince in the games suitable to his age. The family afterwards read

* "A man named Simon, a shoemaker and municipal officer, was one of the six commissioners appointed to inspect the works and expenses at the Temple. This man, whenever he appeared in the presence of the royal family, always treated them with the vilest insolence; and would frequently say to me, so near the King as to be heard by him, 'Clery, ask Capet if he wants anything, that I mayn't have the trouble of coming up twice.' One of the doorkeepers of the tower, whose name was Rocher, accoutred as a pioneer, with long whiskers, a black hairy cap, a huge sabre, and a belt to which hung a bunch of great keys, came up to the door when the King wanted to go out, but did not open it till his Majesty was quite close, when, pretending to search for the key among the many which he had, and which he rattled in a terrible manner, he designedly kept the royal family waiting, and then drew the bolts with a great clatter. After doing this, he ran down before them, and fixing himself on one side of the last door, with a long pipe in his mouth, puffed the fumes of his tobacco at each of the royal family as they went out, and chiefly at the Queen and Princesses. Some national guards, who were amused with these indignities, came about him, burst into fits of laughter at every puff of smoke, and used the grossest language; some of them went so far as to bring chairs from the guard-room, to sit and enjoy the sight, obstructing the passage, which was itself sufficiently narrow." — *Clery*.

† "One of the soldiers within wrote one day, on the King's chamber-door, and that, too, on the inside, 'The guillotine is permanent, and ready for the tyrant Louis.' The walls were frequently covered with the most indecent scrawls, in large letters, that they might not escape notice. Among others were, 'Madame Veto shall swing,' 'The little wolves must be strangled.' Under a gallows with a figure hanging were these words: 'Louis taking an air-bath,' and similar ribaldry." — *Clery*.

‡ "During the hour allowed for walking, a sight was presented to the royal family that often awakened their sensibilities and moved them to tears. Many of their faithful subjects, placing themselves at the windows of the houses round the garden of the Temple, took the opportunity of this short interval to see their King and Queen; and it was impossible to be deceived in their sentiments and their wishes. In particular they would anxiously follow the Dauphin with their eyes when he ran to any distance from their Majesties." — *Clery*.

some book together, then supped, and retired to their respective apartments after a sorrowful adieu, for they never parted without grief. The King read for some hours longer. Montesquieu, Buffon, Hume's History, the Imitation of Jesus Christ, and some Latin and Italian classics were the books that he usually read. He had finished about 250 volumes when he quitted the Temple.

Such was the life of this monarch during his sad captivity. Reduced to private life, he was restored to all his virtues, and proved himself worthy of the esteem of all honest hearts. His very enemies, had they but seen him, so simple, so calm, so pure, would not have been able to suppress an involuntary emotion, and would have forgiven the faults of the Prince on account of the virtues of the man.

The commune, in the excess of its distrust, resorted to the most irksome precautions. Municipal officers never suffered any of the members of the royal family to be out of their sight; and it was only when their prisoners retired to rest that they suffered a locked door to interpose between them. They then placed a bed against the entrance of each apartment, so as to prevent all egress, and there passed the night. Santerre, with his staff, made every day a general visit of inspection throughout the whole tower, and rendered a regular account of it. The municipal officers on duty formed a kind of permanent council, which, placed in an apartment of the tower, was authorized to issue orders, and to return answers to all the demands of the prisoners. Pen, ink, and paper had at first been left in the prison; but these articles were soon taken away, as well as all sharp instruments, such as razors, scissors, or penknives, and the strictest and most offensive search was made to discover any such implements that might have been concealed. This was a great affliction for the Princesses, who were thenceforward deprived of their needlework, and could no longer repair their apparel, which was in a very bad state, as they had not been supplied with anything new since their transfer to the Temple. The wife of the English ambassador sent body-linen to the Queen, and on the application of the King, the commune directed some to be made for the whole family. As for outer garments, neither the King nor the Queen * cared to ask for them: but no doubt they would have

* "I have heard Mr. Northcote describe the Queen, in her happier and younger days, as entering a small ante-room where he was standing, with her large hoop sideways, and gliding by him from one end to the other as if borne on a cloud. It was possibly to 'this air with which she trod, or rather disdained the earth,' as if descended from some higher sphere, that she owed the indignity of being conducted to the scaffold."—*Hazlitt*.

obtained them had they expressed any wish to that effect. With respect to money, the sum of two thousand francs was given to them in September for their petty expenses; but they were not supplied with more, for fear of the use which might be made of it. A sum was placed in the hands of the governor of the Temple, and on the application of the prisoners the different articles which they needed were purchased for them.

We must not exaggerate the faults of human nature, and suppose that, adding an execrable meanness to the fury of fanaticism, the keepers of the imprisoned family imposed on it unworthy privations, with the intention of rendering the remembrance of its past greatness the more painful. Distrust was the sole cause of certain refusals. Thus while the dread of plots and secret communications prevented them from admitting more than one attendant into the interior of the prison, a numerous establishment was employed in preparing their food. Thirteen persons were engaged in the duties of the kitchen, situated at some distance from the tower. The reports of the expenses of the Temple, where the greatest decency is observed, where the prisoners are mentioned with respect, where their sobriety is commended, where Louis XVI. is justified from the low reproach of being too much addicted to wine—these reports, which are not liable to suspicion, make the total expense for the table amount in two months to 28,745 livres. While thirteen domestics occupied the kitchen, one only was allowed to enter the prison, and to assist Clery in waiting upon the prisoners at table. So ingenious is captivity that it was by means of this domestic, whose sensibility Clery had contrived to excite, that news from without sometimes penetrated into the Temple. The unfortunate prisoners had always been kept in ignorance of the occurrences outside that building. The representatives of the commune had merely sent to them the newspapers which recorded the victories of the republic, and which thus deprived them of every hope.

Clery had devised a clever expedient to make them acquainted with circumstances as they occurred, and which had succeeded tolerably well. By means of communications which he had formed outside the prison, he had caused a public hawker to be engaged and paid. This man came daily beneath the windows of the Temple, and under pretext of selling newspapers, he bawled out with all his might the principal details contained in them. Clery, who had fixed the hour for his coming, was sure to be at the window above, noted all that he heard, and at night stooping over the King's bed at the moment when he drew his curtains, he communicated to him

the intelligence which he had thus obtained. Such was the condition of the illustrious family thrust from the throne into a prison, and the manner in which the ingenious zeal of a faithful servant baffled the jealous caution of its gaolers.

The committees had at length presented their report relative to the trial of Louis XVI. Dufriche-Valazé had made a first report on the charges alleged against the monarch, and the documents that could furnish proofs of them. This report, too long to be read through, was printed by order of the Convention and sent to each of its members. On the 7th of November, Mailhe, in the name of the committee of legislation, presented the report on the great questions to which the trial gave rise :

Can Louis XVI. be tried ?

What tribunal shall pronounce judgment ?

Such were the two essential questions which were about to engage all minds, and to agitate them profoundly. The report was ordered to be printed immediately. Being translated into all languages, and numerous copies circulated, it was soon spread throughout France and Europe. The discussion was adjourned till the 13th, in spite of Billaud-Varemmes, who insisted that the Assembly should decide by acclamation the question of bringing the King to trial.

Now was about to ensue the last conflict between the ideas of the Constituent Assembly and the ideas of the Convention ; and this conflict was destined to be the more violent, inasmuch as the life or death of the King was to be the result of it. The Constituent Assembly was democratic in its ideas, and monarchical in its sentiments. Thus while it constituted the entire State a republic, from a remnant of affection and delicacy towards Louis XVI. it retained royalty with the attributes invariably allotted to it in the system of a well-regulated feudal monarchy. Hereditary succession, executive power, participation in the legislative power, and above all, inviolability—such are the prerogatives assigned to the throne in modern monarchies, and which the first Assembly had left to the reigning house. Participation in the legislative power and the executive power are functions which may vary in their extent, and which do not constitute modern royalty so essentially as hereditary succession and inviolability. Of these two latter, the one ensures the perpetual and natural transmission of royalty ; the second places it beyond all attack in the person of every heir ; and both make it something perpetual, which is never interrupted, and something inaccessible, which no penalty can reach. Doomed to act solely by ministers, who are responsible for its actions, royalty is accessible only in its agents, and thus there is

a point where it may be struck without being shaken. Such is feudal monarchy, successively modified by time, and reconciled with the degree of liberty which modern nations have attained.

The Constituent Assembly, however, had been induced to lay a restriction on this royal inviolability. The flight to Varennes, and the enterprises of the emigrants, had led it to think that the ministerial responsibility would not guarantee a nation from all the faults of royalty. It had therefore provided for the case when a monarch should put himself at the head of a hostile army to attack the constitution of the State, or else should not oppose by a *formal act* an enterprise of this nature undertaken in his name. In this case it had declared the monarch not amenable to the ordinary laws against felony, but to have forfeited the crown. He was *deemed to have abdicated royalty*. Such is the precise language of the law which it had passed. The proposal to accept the constitution made by it to the King, and the acceptance on the part of the King, had rendered the contract irrevocable, and the Assembly had bound itself by a solemn engagement to hold sacred the person of the monarchs.

The Convention, when debating upon the fate of Louis XVI., found itself face to face with this agreement; but these successors of the Constituent Assembly, called together under the name of Convention, did not consider themselves bound by the acts of their predecessors, any more than the members of the Constituent Assembly had felt that they were by the laws of the old Feudal System. Men's minds had been hurried along with such rapidity that the laws of 1791 appeared as absurd to the generation of 1792 as those of the thirteenth century had appeared to the generation of 1789.* The Conventionals therefore did not deem themselves bound by a law which they regarded as absurd, and they declared themselves in insurrection against it, as the States-general did against that of the three orders.

As soon, therefore, as the discussion commenced, two systems were seen in decided opposition to each other. Some maintained the inviolability, others absolutely rejected it. Such had been the change of ideas that no member of the Con-

* One of the most eminent members of the Gironde party contradicts this assertion. "It must not be dissembled," he says, "that the majority of Frenchmen desired royalty and the constitution of 1791. There were only a few noble and elevated minds who felt themselves worthy to be republicans. The rest of the nation, with the exception of the ignorant wretches without either sense or substance, who vomited abuse against royalty, as at another time they would have done against a commonwealth, and all without knowing why—the rest of the nation were all attached to the constitution of 1791."—*Buzot's Memoirs*.

vention durst defend the inviolability as good in itself, and even those who were in favour of it defended it solely as an anterior arrangement, the benefit of which was guaranteed to the monarch, and of which the Assembly could not dispossess him without violating a national engagement. Nay, there were but very few deputies who supported it as an engagement contracted, and the Girondins even condemned it in this point of view. They abstained, however, from taking part in the debate, and coldly watched the discussion raised between the rare partisans of inviolability and its numerous adversaries.

"In the first place," said the adversaries of inviolability, "in order that an engagement shall be binding, it is requisite that the party contracting such engagement shall have a right to bind himself. Now the national sovereignty is inalienable, and cannot bind itself for the time to come. The nation may certainly, in stipulating the inviolability, have rendered the executive power inaccessible to the attacks of the legislative power. It is a politic precaution, the motive of which may be easily conceived in the system of the Constituent Assembly; but if it has rendered the King inviolable for the constituted bodies, it cannot have rendered him inviolable for itself, for it never can renounce the faculty of doing and willing anything at all times. This faculty constitutes its omnipotence, which is inalienable. The nation therefore cannot have bound itself in regard to Louis XVI., and it cannot be met with an engagement which it had not the power to make.

"Secondly, even supposing the engagement possible, it would be requisite that it should be reciprocal. Now, it never has been so on the part of Louis XVI. That constitution on which he now wishes to support himself he never liked, he always protested against; he has continually laboured to destroy it, not only by internal conspiracies, but by the sword of enemies. What right has he then to avail himself of it?

"Let us even admit the engagement as possible and reciprocal: it is further requisite, in order that it should have any validity, that it be not absurd. Thus we can readily conceive the inviolability which applies to all the ostensible acts for which a minister is responsible instead of the King. For all acts of this kind there exists a guarantee in the ministerial responsibility; and inviolability, not being impunity, ceases to be absurd. But for all secret acts, such as underhand machinations, correspondence with the enemy, in short, treason, is there a minister at hand to countersign and to be responsible? And should these latter acts nevertheless pass unpunished, though the most important and the most culpable of all?

This is inadmissible, and it must be acknowledged that the King, inviolable for the acts of his administration, ceases to be so for the secret and criminal acts which attack the public safety. Thus a deputy, inviolable for his legislative functions, an ambassador for his diplomatic functions, are not so for all the other acts of their private life. Inviolability therefore has limits, and there are points at which the person of the King ceases to be unassailable. Will it be urged that forfeiture of the throne is the penalty pronounced against perfidies for which a minister is not responsible? That is to say, is the mere privation of power the only punishment to be inflicted on the monarch for having so atrociously abused it? Shall the people whom he has betrayed, given up to the sword of foreigners, and to every scourge at once, do no more than say to him, 'Get you gone?' This would be an illusory justice, and a nation cannot fail so egregiously in its duty to itself as to leave unpunished the crime committed against its existence and its liberty.

"There is required," added the same speakers, "there is indeed required a known punishment, enacted by an anterior law, before it can be applied to a crime. But are there not the ordinary penalties against treason? Are not these penalties alike in all codes? Is not the monarch forewarned by the morality of all ages and of all countries that treason is a crime; and by the legislature of all nations that this crime is punished with the most terrible of punishments? Besides a penal law, there must be a tribunal. But here is the sovereign nation, which unites in itself all powers, that of trying as well as that of enacting laws, and of making peace and war; here it is with its omnipotence, with its universality, and there is no function but it is capable of fulfilling. This nation is the Convention which represents it, commissioned to do everything on its behalf, to avenge, to constitute, and to save it. The Convention, then, is competent to try Louis XVI. It possesses sufficient powers. It is the most independent, the most elevated tribunal that an accused person can choose; and unless he needs partisans or hirelings of the enemy in order to obtain justice, the monarch cannot wish for other judges. True, he will have the same men for accusers and judges. But if in the ordinary tribunals, exposed in a lower sphere to individual and particular causes of error, the functions are separated, and care has been taken that the accusation shall have other judges than those who have supported it, in the general council of the nation, which is placed above all individual interests and motives, the same precautions

are not necessary. *The nation can do no wrong, and the deputies who represent it partake of its inviolability and its powers.*

“Thus,” proceeded the adversaries of the inviolability, “the engagement contracted in 1791 being incapable of binding the national sovereignty, that engagement being without any reciprocity, and containing, moreover, an absurd clause, that of allowing treason to pass unpunished, is absolutely null, and Louis XVI. can be put upon his trial. With respect to the punishment, it has been known in all ages, it is specified in all laws. As for the tribunal, it is in the Convention, invested with all the powers, legislative, executive, and judicial.” These speakers therefore demanded, with the committee, that Louis XVI. should be tried; that he should be tried by the National Convention; that a statement declaratory of the acts imputed to him should be drawn up by commissioners appointed for the purpose; that he should appear personally to answer the charges; that counsel should be assigned him to defend himself; and that immediately after he should be heard, the National Convention should pronounce judgment by putting the question to the vote.*

The defenders of the inviolability had left none of these reasons unanswered, and had refuted the whole system of their adversaries.

“It is alleged,” said they, that the nation had not the power to alienate its sovereignty, and to interdict itself from punishing a crime committed against itself; that the inviolability enacted in 1791 bound the Legislative Body alone, but not the nation itself. In the first place, if it be true that the national sovereignty cannot be alienated, and that it cannot interdict itself from renewing its laws, it is likewise true that it has no power over the past. It cannot therefore make that which has been not be. It cannot prevent the laws which it has enacted from having had their effect, and that which they absolved from being absolved. It certainly can for the future declare that monarchs shall be no longer inviolable; but with reference to the past, it cannot prevent their being so, since so it has declared them to be. It cannot, above all, break engagements contracted with third persons, towards whom it became a simple party in treating with them. Thus, then, the national sovereignty possessed the power of binding itself for a time.

* “It was by means of a chain of the most ingenious sophisms that the committee transformed the Convention into a tribunal. The party of Robespierre showed itself much more consistent in urging the only reasons of State, and rejecting forms as illusory.”—*Mignet*.

It determined to do so in an absolute manner, not only for the Legislative Body, to which it interdicted all judicial action against the King, but also for itself; for the political aim of the inviolability would have been missed if royalty had not been placed beyond all attack whatever, on the part of the constituted authorities as well as on the part of the nation itself.

“With regard to the want of reciprocity in the execution of the engagement, that was all foreseen,” argued the same speakers. “The want of fidelity to the engagement was provided for by the engagement itself. All the modes of failing in it are comprised in one alone, the most heinous of all, war against the nation, and are punished by forfeiture, that is to say, by the dissolution of the contract between the nation and the King. The want of reciprocity is not then a reason which can release the nation from the promise of inviolability.

“The engagement being, then, real and absolute, common to the nation as to the Legislative Body, the want of reciprocity was foreseen, and cannot be a cause of nullity. It will be perceived, in short, that in the system of the monarchy this engagement was not unreasonable, and that it cannot be set aside on account of absurdity. In fact, this inviolability left not, as it has been asserted, any crime unpunished. The ministerial responsibility extended to all the acts, because a king can no more conspire than govern without agents, and thus public justice always had something to lay hold of. Lastly, those secret crimes, differing from the ostensible delinquencies of administration, were provided for and punished by forfeiture, for every fault on the part of the King was reduced in this legislation to the cessation of his functions. Against this it has been argued that forfeiture is no punishment, that it is only the privation of an instrument which the monarch has abused. But in a system where the royal person was to be unassailable, the severity of the punishment was not the most important matter. The essential point was its political result, and this result was attained by the privation of power.

“Besides, was not the loss of the first throne in the world a punishment? Can a man without extreme pain lose a crown, which at his birth he found upon his head, with which he has passed his life, and under which he has been adored for twenty years? To minds bred to sovereignty is not this punishment equal to that of death? Moreover, were the punishment too mild, it is so agreeably to an express stipulation; and an insufficiency of punishment cannot be in any law a cause of nullity. It is a maxim in criminal legislation that the accused

ought to have the benefit of all the faults of the legislation, because the feeble and disarmed ought not to be made to suffer for the errors of the strong. Thus, then, the engagement being demonstrated to be valid and absolute, involves nothing absurd. No impunity was stipulated in it, and treason was to find its punishment. There is no need, then, to recur to the law of nature or to the nation, since the forfeiture is already pronounced by an anterior law. This penalty the King has undergone, without any tribunal to pronounce it, and according to the only possible form, that of a national insurrection. As he is dethroned at this moment, beyond all possibility of acting, France can do nothing more against him than take measures of police for his safety. Let her banish him from her territory for her own security; let her detain him, if she will, till the peace; or let her suffer him to remain in her bosom! to become a man again by the practice of private life. That is all she ought to do—all she can do. There is no occasion, then, to constitute a tribunal, to inquire into the competence of the Convention. On the 10th of August all was accomplished for Louis XVI. On the 10th of August he ceased to be king. On the 10th of August he was tried, sentenced, deposed, and all was consummated between him and the nation."

Such was the answer with which the advocates of the inviolability met their adversaries. The national sovereignty being understood as people then understood it, their answers were victorious, and all the arguments of the committee of legislation were but laboured sophisms, without frankness and without truth.

The reader has just seen what was said on both sides in the regular discussion. But from the agitation of minds and passions sprang another system and another opinion. At the Jacobins, in the ranks of the Mountain, people already asked if there was any need for a discussion, for sentence, for forms, in short, in order to rid themselves of what they called a tyrant, taken with arms in his hand, and spilling the blood of the nation. This opinion found a terrible organ in the young St. Just,* a cold and austere fanatic, who at the age of twenty was devising a perfectly ideal state of society, in which absolute equality, simplicity, austerity, and an indestructible force should reign. Long before the 10th of August he had brooded in the recesses of his gloomy mind over this supernatural society, and he had arrived through

* See Appendix III.

fanaticism at that extremity of human opinions to which Robespierre had arrived solely by dint of hatred. New to the Revolution, upon which he had scarcely entered, as yet a stranger to all its struggles, to all its wrongs, to all its crimes, ranged in the party of the Mountain by the violence of his opinions, delighting the Jacobins by the boldness of his sentiments, captivating the Convention by his talents, still he had not yet acquired popular reputation. His ideas, always favourably received, but not always comprehended, had not their full effect till they had become, through the plagiarisms of Robespierre, more common, more clear, and more declamatory.

He spoke after Morisson, the most zealous of the advocates for the inviolability; and without employing personalities against his adversaries, because he had not yet had time to contract personal enmities, he appeared at first to be indignant only at the meannesses of the Assembly and the quibbles of the discussion. "What," said he, "you, the committee, his adversaries, are laboriously seeking forms for the purpose of trying the *ci-devant* King! You are striving to make a citizen of him, to raise him to that quality, that you may find laws which are applicable to him! And I, on the contrary, I say that the King is not a citizen, that he ought to be tried as an enemy, that we have rather to fight than to try him, and that, telling for nothing in the contract which unites the French, the forms of the proceedings are not in the civil law, but in the *law of nations*."

Thus, then, St. Just discovered in the proceedings not a question of justice but a question of war. "Try a king like a citizen!" he exclaimed; "that word will astonish cool posterity. To try is to apply the law; a law is a relation of justice; what relation of justice is there, then, between humanity and kings?"

"To reign is of itself a crime, a usurpation, which nothing can absolve, which a nation is culpable in suffering, and against which every man has an entirely personal right. It is impossible to reign innocently. The madness of the thing is too great. This usurpation ought to be treated as kings themselves treat that of their pretended authority. Was not the memory of Cromwell brought to trial for having usurped the authority of Charles I.? And assuredly one was no more a usurper than the other; for when a nation is so base as to suffer itself to be ruled by tyrants, domination is the right of the first comer, and is not more sacred, more legitimate, on the head of one than on that of the other!"

Passing to the question of forms, St. Just discovered in it

only fresh and inconsistent errors. Forms in the trial are but hypocrisy. It is not the mode of procedure which has justified all the recorded vengeance of nations against kings ; but the right of force against force.

“Some day,” said he, “people will be astonished that we, in the eighteenth century, were less advanced than the Romans in the time of Cæsar. Then the tyrant was immolated in full Senate, without any other formality than twenty-three dagger wounds, and without any other law than the liberty of Rome. And now we set most respectfully about the trial of a man, the assassin of the people, taken in the very fact !”

Considering the question in a different point of view, without any reference to Louis XVI., St. Just inveighed against subtle arguments and nice distinctions, which were injurious, he said, to great things. The life of Louis XVI. was nothing. It was the mind which his judges were going to give proof of that alarmed him. It was the measure which they were about to furnish of themselves that struck him. “The men who are going to try Louis have a republic to found, and those who attach any importance to the just punishment of a king will never found a republic. . . . Since the presentation of the report a certain wavering has manifested itself. Each approaches the trial of the King with his own particular views. Some seem apprehensive of having hereafter to pay the penalty of their courage ; others have not renounced monarchy ; these dread an example of virtue which would be a bond of unity.

“We all judge each other with severity, I will even say with fury. We think only how to modify the energy of the people and of liberty, while the common enemy is scarcely accused ; and all, either filled with weakness or steeped in crime, look at one another before they venture to strike the first blow.

“Citizens, if the Roman people after six hundred years of virtue and hatred of kings, if Great Britain after Cromwell’s death, beheld kings restored in spite of their energy, what ought not the good citizens, the friends of liberty, among us to fear on seeing the axe quivering in our hands, and a nation on the very first day of its liberty respecting the memory of its fetters ? What republic will you establish amidst our private quarrels and our common weaknesses ! I shall never cease to bear in mind that the spirit in which the King is tried will be the same as that in which the republic shall be established. The measure of your philosophy

in this judgment will be also the measure of your liberty in the constitution!"

There were, however, minds which, less tinctured with fanaticism than that of St. Just, strove to place themselves in a less false position, and to bring the Assembly to consider things in a more just point of view. "Look," said Rouzet, "at the real situation of the King in the constitution of 1791. He was placed in presence of the national representation for the purpose of being a rival to it. Was it not natural that he should seek to recover as much as possible of the power which he had lost? Was it not you who threw open to him these lists, and called him to battle there with the legislative power? Well, then, in these lists he has been vanquished. He is alone, disarmed, trampled under foot by twenty-five millions of men, and would these twenty-five millions of men be guilty of such unprofitable baseness as to immolate the conquered? Moreover," added Rouzet, "has not Louis XVI. repressed in his bosom, more than any sovereign in the world, that everlasting love of rule, a feeling which fills the hearts of all men? Did he not make in 1789 a voluntary sacrifice of part of his authority? Has he not renounced part of the prerogatives which his predecessors permitted themselves to exercise? Has he not abolished servitude in his dominions? Has he not called to his councils philosophic ministers, and even those empirics whom the public voice designated to him? Has he not convoked the States-general, and restored to the third estate a portion of its rights?"

Fauve, deputy of the Seine-Inférieure, had displayed still greater boldness. Referring to the conduct of Louis XVI., he had ventured to awaken the recollection of it. "The will of the people," said he, "might have dealt severely with Titus as well as with Nero, and it might have found crimes in him, were they but those committed before Jerusalem. But where are those which you impute to Louis XVI.? I have paid the utmost attention to the papers that have been read against him; I find in them nothing but the weakness of a man who suffers himself to be led away by all the hopes held out to him of recovering his former authority; and I maintain that all the monarchs who died in their beds were more culpable than he. The good Louis XII. himself, in sacrificing fifty thousand Frenchmen in Italy for his own private quarrel, was a thousand times more criminal. Civil list, veto, choice of ministers, women, relatives, courtiers—here are Capet's seducers! And what seducers! I appeal to Aristides,

Epictetus—let them say if their firmness would have been proof against such trials. It is on the hearts of frail mortals that I found my principles or my errors. Exalt yourselves, then, to all the greatness of the national sovereignty. Conceive all the magnanimity that ought to comport with such power. Summon Louis XVI., not as a criminal, but as a Frenchman, and say to him, Those who once lifted thee upon the shield and called thee their king now set thee down; thou hast promised to be their father, and thou hast not been such. . . . Make amends by thy virtues as a citizen for the conduct which thou hast pursued as a king.”

In the extraordinary exaltation of men's minds, each was led to consider the question under different bearings. Fauchet,* the constitutional priest, who had gained celebrity in 1789 for having used in the pulpit the language of the Revolution, asked if society had a right to inflict the punishment of death. “Has society,” said he, “a right to deprive a man of life, which it has not given to him? It is its duty, undoubtedly, to provide for its own conservation; but is it true that it cannot do so but by the death of the criminal? And if it can do it by other means, has it not a right to employ them? In this cause,” added he, “more than in any other, this truth is peculiarly applicable. What! is it for the public interest, for the invigoration of the nascent republic, that you would sacrifice Louis XVI.? But is his whole family to perish by the same stroke that is to fall upon him? According to the system of hereditary succession, does not one king immediately step into the place of another? Will you release yourselves by the death of Louis XVI. from the rights to which a whole family deems itself entitled by a possession of several centuries? The destruction of one only is therefore useless. On the contrary, let the present head, who shuts the door to all others, continue to live. Let him live with the hatred which he excites in all aristocrats for his vacillation and his concessions. Let him live with the reputation of his weakness, with the debasement of his defeat, and you will have less to fear from him than from any other. Let this dethroned king wander through the vast extent of your republic without that train which attended him in the days of his grandeur; show how insignificant a king is when reduced to his own person; manifest a profound disdain for the remembrance of what he was, and that remembrance will no longer be a subject of apprehension: you will have given a great

* See Appendix II.

lesson to mankind ; you will have done more for the security and the instruction of the republic than by spilling blood which does not belong to you. As for the son of Louis XVI.," proceeded Fauchet, "if he can become a man, we will make him a citizen, like young Egalité. He shall fight for the republic, and we shall have no fear that a single soldier of liberty will ever second him 'if he should be mad enough to think of turning a traitor to the country. Let us thus show other nations that we are afraid of nothing ; let us prevail on them to follow our example ; let all together form a European congress, let them depose their sovereigns, let them send those contemptible creatures to drag on their obscure lives in wandering through the republics, and let them even allow them small pensions, for those beings are so destitute of faculties that necessity itself would not teach them to earn their bread. Set, then, this great example of the abolition of a barbarous punishment. Suppress that iniquitous way of spilling blood, and above all, wean the people from the habit of spilling it. Strive to allay in them that thirst which perverse men would fain excite, in order to make it subservient to the overthrow of the republic. Remember that barbarous men are demanding of you one hundred and fifty thousand more heads, and that after you have granted them that of the *ci-devant* King, you will not have it in your power to refuse them any. Prevent crimes which would agitate for a long time the bosom of the republic, dishonour liberty, retard its progress, and prove a bar to the acceleration of the happiness of the world."

This discussion had lasted from the 13th to the 30th of November, and had excited general agitation. Those whose imaginations were not entirely swayed by the new order of things, and who still retained some recollection of 1789, of the benevolence of the monarch, and of the affection that had been felt for him, could not comprehend how it was that this King, suddenly transformed into a tyrant, should be consigned to the scaffold. Admitting even his secret concert with foreigners, they imputed this fault to his weakness, to the persons around him, to the invincible fondness for hereditary power ; and they were shocked at the idea of an ignominious punishment. They durst not, however, openly take up the defence of Louis XVI. The danger to which the country had been exposed by the invasion of the Prussians, and the opinion generally entertained that the Court had brought them upon the frontiers, had excited an irritation, the effects of which fell upon the unfortunate monarch, and which nobody durst condemn. They contented themselves with opposing in a general

manner those who demanded vengeance. They characterized them as the instigators of disturbances, as *Septembrizers*, who wanted to cover France with blood and ruins. Without defending Louis XVI. by name, they recommended moderation towards fallen enemies, and vigilance against an hypocritical energy, which, while appearing to defend the republic by executions, sought only to rule it by terror, or to compromise it with the rest of Europe. The Girondins had not yet spoken. Their opinion was surmised rather than known, and the Mountain, in order to have occasion to accuse them, asserted that they wished to save Louis XVI. They were, however, undecided in this cause. On the one hand, rejecting the inviolability, and regarding Louis XVI. as the accomplice of foreign invasion; on the other, moved by the sight of a great misfortune, and inclined on every occasion to oppose the violence of their adversaries, they knew not what course to steer, and maintained an equivocal and threatening silence.

Another question at this moment agitated people's minds, and produced not less perturbation than the preceding. It related to the supply of provisions, which had been a great cause of discord in all the epochs of the Revolution.

We have already seen what uneasiness and what trouble this subject had caused to Bailly and Necker at its commencement in 1789. The same difficulties had recurred, but with increased urgency, at the conclusion of 1792, and had been attended with the most dangerous disturbances. The stagnation of trade in all articles not of the first necessity may certainly be injurious to industry, and eventually to the labouring classes: but when corn, the prime necessary of life, becomes scarce, distress and disturbances immediately ensue. Accordingly the old police had, in the list of its duties, ranked attention to the supply of the markets as one of the objects that most concerned the public tranquillity.

The corn crop in 1792 was not a bad one; but the harvest had been retarded by the weather, and the thrashing of the grain delayed by want of hands. The great cause of the scarcity, however, was to be sought elsewhere. In 1792, as in 1789, the state of insecurity, the fear of pillage by the way, and the extortions in the markets, had prevented the farmers from bringing their commodities. An outcry was instantly raised against forestalling. People inveighed most bitterly against the wealthy farmers, whom they called aristocrats, and whose too extensive farms ought, they said, to be divided. The greater the irritation expressed against them, the less they were disposed to show themselves in the markets, and

the more the dearth increased. The assignats had likewise contributed to produce it. Many farmers who sold merely for the purpose of hoarding, disliked to accumulate a variable paper, and preferred keeping their corn. As, moreover, corn daily became scarce, and assignats more abundant, the disproportion between the sign and the thing kept constantly increasing, and the dearth became more and more sensibly felt. By an accident common in all kinds of scarcity, precaution being augmented by fear, every one wished to lay in supplies; families, the municipalities, the government, made considerable purchases, and rendered provisions still scarcer and dearer. In Paris especially, the municipality committed a very serious and a very old blunder. It bought up corn in the neighbouring departments, and sold it under the regular price, with the twofold intention of relieving the lower classes and increasing its popularity. The consequence was that the dealers, ruined by this new rivalry, withdrew from the market, and the country people, attracted by the low price, came and absorbed part of the supplies which the police had collected at great cost. These vicious measures, resulting from false economical ideas, and from an excessive ambition of popularity, were destructive to trade, more especially in Paris, where it is requisite to accumulate a great quantity of corn in a small space, than anywhere else. The causes of the dearth were therefore very numerous; namely, terror, which drove the farmers from the markets, the rise in price occasioned by the assignats, the mania for laying in stores of provisions, and the interference of the Parisian municipality, which injured trade by its powerful competition.

In such difficulties it is easy to guess what course would be pursued by the two classes of men who divided between them the sovereignty of France. The violent spirits, who were for putting down all opposition by destroying the opposers; who, in order to prevent the conspiracies which they dreaded, had sacrificed all those whom they suspected of being adverse to themselves—such spirits could think of only one way of putting an end to the dearth, and that again was force. They proposed that the farmers should be roused from their inertness, that they should be compelled to attend the markets, and there sell their commodities at a price fixed by the communes; that the corn should not be removed from the spot, or go to be stowed away in the granaries of what were called the fore-stallers. They insisted, therefore, on forced presence in the markets, a fixed price or maximum, the prohibition of all circulation, and lastly, the obedience of commerce to their

desires, not from the ordinary motive of profit, but from the fear of punishments and death.

Men of moderate sentiments proposed, on the contrary, that the administration should leave commerce to resume its course, by dispelling the fears of the farmers, by allowing them to fix their own prices, by offering them the inducement of a free, sure, and advantageous exchange, and by permitting the circulation from one department to another, in order to accommodate those which grew no corn. They thus proscribed a fixed price and prohibitions of every kind, and demanded, with the economists, the complete freedom of the trade in corn throughout all France. On the suggestion of Barbaroux, who was conversant in such matters, they recommended that exportation to foreign countries should be subjected to a duty, which should increase whenever the prices rose, and which would thus act as a check upon the sending of corn abroad at those times when it was most wanted at home. They demanded administrative interference solely for the establishment of certain markets destined for extraordinary cases. They were for employing severity against such riotous persons only as should molest the farmers on the highroads and in the markets. Lastly, they proscribed the use of punishments in regard to trade; for fear may be a medium of repression, but it is never a medium of action; it paralyzes men, but it never encourages them.

When a party becomes master in a State, it becomes the government, forms its wishes, and contracts its prejudices; it wishes to advance all things at any price, and to employ force as the universal medium. Hence it was that the ardent friends of liberty had the predilection of all governments to form prohibitive systems, and that they found adversaries in those who, more moderate, desired liberty not only in the end but in the means, and claimed security for their enemies, deliberation in the forms of justice, and absolute freedom of commerce.

The Girondins therefore were advocates of all the systems devised by speculative minds against official tyranny. But these new economists, instead of encountering, as formerly, a government ashamed of itself and always condemned by public opinion, found minds intoxicated with the idea of the public welfare, and which believed that force employed for this end was but the energy of virtue.

This discussion led to another subject of severe reproaches. Roland daily accused the commune of wasting money in the purchase of provisions, and of increasing the dearth at Paris, by reducing the prices out of a vain ambition of popularity.

The party of the Mountain answered Roland by accusing him of misapplying considerable sums granted to his office for the purchase of corn, of being the chief of the forestallers, and of making himself the real dictator of France by getting into his hands the whole stock of the prime necessities of life.

While this subject was under discussion in the Assembly, the inhabitants of certain departments, particularly in that of the Eure and Loire, were in a state of insurrection. The country people, excited by the want of bread, and by the instigations of the curés, upbraided the Convention with being the cause of all their sufferings, and while they complained that it would not fix a maximum price for corn, accused it at the same time of an intention to overthrow religion. It was Cambon who furnished occasion for the latter charge. A passionate hunter after savings which did not bear upon the war department, he had declared that the expense of the Church establishment should be suppressed, and that *those who wanted mass might pay for it*. Accordingly the insurgents failed not to say that religion was undone, and from a singular contradiction they reproached the Convention, on the one hand, with moderation on the subject of provisions, and on the other, with violence in regard to the Church.

Two members, sent by the Convention, found in the neighbourhood of Courville an assemblage of several thousand peasants, armed with pitchforks and fowling-pieces, and to save their lives they were obliged to sign an order fixing the price of grain. Their compliance was censured by the Convention. It declared that they ought to have suffered death, and annulled the order which they had signed. The armed force was sent to disperse the rioters. Thus did the disturbances in the West commence, owing to want, and attachment to religion.

On the motion of Danton, the Assembly, in order to appease the people of the West, declared that it had no intention to abolish religion ; but it persisted in rejecting the maximum. Thus, still firm amid storms, and preserving a sufficient freedom of mind, the majority of the Convention declared for liberty of commerce against the prohibitory systems. If we, then, consider what was passing in the armies, in the administrations, and in respect of the trial of Louis XVI., we shall behold a terrible and a singular spectacle. Hot-headed enthusiasts wanted to renew *in toto* the composition of the armies and the administrations, in order to turn out of them such as were lukewarm or suspected ; they wanted to employ force against commerce, to prevent it from standing still, and to

wreak terrible vengeance for the purpose of daunting all enemies. Moderate men, on the other hand, were afraid of disorganizing the armies by renewing them, of ruining commerce by using constraint, of revolting minds by employing terror; but their adversaries were irritated even by these fears, and were still more enthusiastically bent on their scheme for renewing, forcing, and punishing, without exception. Such was the spectacle presented at this moment by the left against the right side of the Convention.*

The sitting of the 30th had been very stormy, owing to the complaints of Roland against the misconduct of the municipality in regard to provisions, and to the report of the commissioners sent into the department of Eure and Loire. Everything is recollected at once when a person commences the catalogue of his grievances. On the one hand, mention had been made of the massacres and of the inflammatory publications; on the other, of the vacillation, the relics of royalism, and the delays opposed to the national vengeance. Marat had spoken, and excited a general murmur. Robespierre commenced a speech amidst the noise. "He was about to propose," he said, "a more effective medium than any other for restoring the public tranquillity, a medium which would bring back impartiality and concord amidst the Assembly, which would impose silence on all libellers, on all the authors of placards, and sweep away their calumnies." "What is it?" inquired a member, "what is this medium?" Robespierre resumed: "It is to condemn to-morrow the tyrant of the French to suffer the penalty of his crimes, and thus to destroy the rallying-point of all the conspirators. The next day you will decide what is to be done in the matter of provisions, and on the following, you will lay the foundations of a free constitution."

This manner, at once emphatic and astute, of proclaiming the means of national salvation, and of making them consist in a measure opposed by the right side, roused the Girondins, and forced them to speak out on the great question of the trial. "You talk of the King," said Buzot. "The fault of the disturbances lies at the door of those who wished to step into his place. When the time comes for expressing my sentiments concerning his fate, I shall do it with the severity which he has deserved; but that is not the question now. The question before us relates to the disturbances, and they proceed from anarchy. Anarchy proceeds from non-execution of the

* See Appendix JJ.

laws. The non-execution of the laws will subsist so long as the Convention shall do nothing to ensure order." Legendre * immediately succeeded Buzot, conjured his colleagues to abstain from all personality, and to direct their attention exclusively to the public welfare and the disturbances, which having no other object than to save the King, would cease when he should be no more. He proposed, therefore, to the Assembly to direct that the opinions drawn up respecting the trial should be laid upon the bureau, printed, and sent to all the members, and that they should then decide whether Louis XVI. ought to be tried, without wasting time in hearing too long speeches. Jean Bon St. André† exclaimed that there was not even need for these preliminary questions; and that all they had to do was to pronounce immediately the condemnation and the form of the execution. The Convention at length adopted Legendre's proposal, and decreed that all the speeches should be printed. The discussion was adjourned to the 3rd of December.

On the 3rd there were calls from all quarters for the putting upon trial, the drawing up of the act of accusation, and the determination of the forms according to which the proceedings were to be conducted. Robespierre asked leave to speak, and though it had been decided that all the opinions should be printed and not read, yet he obtained permission, because he meant to speak not concerning the proceedings, but against any proceedings at all, and for a condemnation without trial.

He insisted that to commence a process was to open a deliberation; that to admit of deliberation was to admit of doubt, and even of a solution favourable to the accused. Now, to make the guilt of Louis XVI. problematical was to accuse the Parisians, the federalists, in short, all the patriots who had achieved the revolution of the 10th of August. It was to absolve Louis XVI., the aristocrats, the foreign powers and their manifestoes. It was, in one word, to declare royalty innocent, and the republic guilty.

"Observe, too," continued Robespierre, "what audacity the enemies of liberty have acquired since you have proposed to yourselves this doubt. In the month of August last the

* "The revolutionary life of Legendre is more original than one would suppose, when considered from the time of his connection with the Lameths. His drinking tea, at the house of Mirabeau and Robert de Paris, with Orleans; the twenty or thirty soldiers whom he received at his house; his intimacy with Marat and Danton; his behaviour on the death of the latter; the part he played in the Mountaineer faction and the Jacobin society; the defence he would have afforded Robespierre by interposing his own body; and his fetching the keys to shut up the hall of the Jacobins—form a string of events which show a man not wholly incapable, and of singular versatility of character."—*Prudhomme*.

† See Appendix KK.

King's partisans hid themselves. Whoever had dared to undertake his apology would have been punished as a traitor. . . . Now they lift up their audacious heads with impunity; now insolent writings inundate Paris and the departments; armed men, men brought within these walls, unknown to you, and contrary to the laws, have made this city ring with seditious cries, and are demanding the impunity of Louis XVI. All that you have left to do is to throw open this place to those who are already canvassing for the honour of defending him. What do I say?—this very day Louis divides the representatives of the people. They are speaking for or against him. Two months ago who could have suspected that here the question would be raised whether he is inviolable? But,” added Robespierre, “since citizen Petion has submitted as a serious question, and one that ought to be separately discussed, the question whether the King could be tried, the Doctrines of the Constituent Assembly have again made their appearance here. O crime! O shame! The tribune of the French people has rung with the panegyric of Louis XVI.! We have heard the virtues and the beneficence of the tyrant extolled. While we have had the greatest difficulty to screen the best citizens from the injustice of a precipitate decision, the cause of the tyrant alone is so sacred that it cannot be discussed either at too great length or with too much freedom! If we may credit his apologists, the trial will last several months; it will continue till next spring, when the despots are to make a general attack upon us. And what a career opened to conspirators! . . . what food given to intrigue and aristocracy! . . .

“Just Heaven! the ferocious hordes of despotism are preparing to rend afresh the bosom of our country in the name of Louis XVI.! Louis XVI. is still fighting against us from the recesses of his prison, and we doubt whether he is guilty, whether it is right to treat him as an enemy! We ask what are the laws which condemn him! We invoke the constitution in his behalf! The constitution forbade what you have done; if he could be punished by deposition only, you could not have pronounced it without trying him; you have no right to keep him in prison; he has a right to demand damages and his enlargement. The constitution condemns you. Throw yourself at the feet of Louis and implore his clemency!”

These declamations, full of gall, which contained nothing that St. Just had not already said, nevertheless produced a profound sensation in the Assembly, which was for coming to an immediate determination. Robespierre had demanded that Louis XVI. should be tried forthwith; but Petion and several

other members insisted that before the form of the proceedings was fixed, the putting upon trial should at least be pronounced; for that, they asserted, was an indispensable preliminary, with whatever celerity they might wish that proceeding to be carried through. Robespierre desired to speak again, and seemed determined to be heard; but his insolence was offensive, and he was forbidden the tribune. The Assembly at length (December 3rd) passed the following decree:—

“The National Convention declares that Louis XVI. shall be tried by it.”

On the 4th the forms of the trial were taken into consideration. Buzot, who had heard a great deal said about royalism, claimed permission to speak upon a motion of order, and to obviate, as he said, all suspicion, he demanded the punishment of death against any one who should propose the re-establishment of royalty in France. Such are the means frequently adopted by parties to prove that they are incapable of what is laid to their charge. This useless motion was hailed with numerous plaudits; but the party of the Mountain, who, according to their system, ought not to have offered any impediment, opposed it out of spleen. Bazire desired to be heard against it. Cries of *Vote! Vote!* ensued. Philipeaux, joining Bazire, proposed that they should not attend to any other subject than Louis XVI., and that they should hold a permanent sitting till his trial was over. It was then asked what motive the opposers of Buzot's proposition had for rejecting it, for there was none who could regret royalty. Lejeune replied, that it was reviving a question which had been decided at the time when royalty was abolished. “But,” said Rewbel,* “the point under consideration is the addition of a penal clause to the decree of abolition. It is not therefore reviving a question which has already been decided.”

Merlin, more clumsy than his predecessors, moved an amendment, and proposed to make one exception to the punishment of death, namely, in case the proposal for the re-establishment of royalty should be brought forward in the primary assemblies. At these words cries arose from all quarters. “There!” it was said, “the secret is out! They want a king, but one taken from among the primary assemblies, from which Marat, Robespierre, and Danton have sprung.” Merlin endeavoured to justify himself by alleging that he meant to pay homage to the sovereignty of the people. He was silenced by being told that he was a royalist, and it was proposed to call him to order.

* See Appendix LL.

Guadet, with an insincerity which the most honourable men sometimes carry into a rancorous debate, insisted that the Assembly ought to respect the freedom of opinion, to which it owed the discovery of an important secret, and which furnished a key to a great machination. "The Assembly," he added, "ought not to regret having heard this amendment, which demonstrates to it that a new despotism was intended to succeed the despotism which had been destroyed, and we ought to thank Merlin instead of calling him to order." An explosion of murmurs succeeded the speech of Guadet. Bazire, Merlin, Robespierre, cried out against calumny; and it is quite true that the charge of a design to substitute a plebeian king instead of the dethroned monarch was just as absurd as that of federalism preferred against the Girondins. The Assembly at length decreed the penalty of death against any one who should propose the restoration of royalty in France under any denomination whatever.

The consideration of the forms of the trial and the proposal for a permanent sitting was then resumed. Robespierre again insisted that judgment should be immediately pronounced. Petion, still victorious through the support of the majority, induced the Assembly to determine that the sitting should not be permanent, that the judgment should not be instantaneous, but that setting aside all other business, the Assembly should devote its exclusive attention to this subject from eleven till six o'clock every day.

The following days were occupied by the reading of the papers found at Laporte's, and others more recently discovered in the palace in a secret closet which the King had directed to be constructed in a wall. The door was of iron, whence it was afterwards known by the name of the *Iron Chest*. The workman employed to construct it gave information of the circumstance to Roland, who, being anxious to ascertain the truth of the statement, had the imprudence to hasten to the spot unaccompanied by witnesses selected from the Assembly, which gave his enemies occasion to assert that he had abstracted some of the papers.* There Roland found all the documents relative to the communications which the Court had held with

* "Roland acted very imprudently in examining the contents of the chest alone and without witnesses, instead of calling in the commissioners who were in the palace at the time. One document of importance was found, which the Jacobins turned into an implement against the Girondins. It was an overture from that party addressed to Louis XVI. shortly before the 10th of August, engaging to oppose the motion for his forfeiture, provided he would recall to his councils the three discarded ministers of the Girondin party."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

the emigrants and with different members of the Assemblies. The negotiations with Mirabeau were there detailed, and the memory of the great orator was about to be proscribed, when, at the suggestion of Manuel, his passionate admirer, the committee of public instruction was directed to make a more minute examination of these documents. A commission was afterwards appointed to draw up from these papers a declaration of the facts imputed to Louis XVI. This declaration when prepared was to be submitted to the approval of the Assembly. Louis XVI. was then to appear in person at the bar of the Convention, and to be interrogated by the president upon every article of the declaration. After this examination two days were to be allowed for his defence, and on the following day judgment was to be pronounced by the vote. The executive power was directed to take all necessary measures for ensuring the public tranquillity during the passage of the King to and from the Assembly. These arrangements were decreed on the 9th.

On the 10th the declaration was presented to the Assembly, and the appearance of Louis XVI. was fixed for the following day, December the 11th.*

The unfortunate monarch was thus about to appear before the National Convention, and to undergo an examination concerning all the acts of his reign. This intelligence had reached Clery by the secret means of correspondence which he had secured outside the prison, and it was with trembling that he imparted it to the disconsolate family. Not daring to tell the King himself, he had communicated it to Madame Elizabeth, and had moreover informed her that during the trial the commune had determined to separate Louis XVI. from his family. He agreed with the Princess upon a method of corresponding during this separation. This method consisted in a handkerchief which Clery, who was to remain with the King, was to transmit to the Princesses if Louis XVI. should be ill. This was all that the unfortunate prisoners could calculate upon communicating to one another. The King was apprized by his sister of his speedily required appearance, and of the separation which they were to undergo during the trial. He received the tidings with perfect resignation, and prepared to encounter with firmness that painful scene.

* "Early on that day, the Dauphin, who often prevailed on his Majesty to play a game of Siam with him, was so pressing, that the King, in spite of his situation, could not refuse him. The young Prince lost every game, and twice he could get no farther than *sixteen*. 'Whenever,' cried he, in a little pet, 'I get to the point of *sixteen*, I am sure not to win the game.' The King said nothing, but he seemed to feel the singular coincidence of the words."—*Clery*.

The commune had given directions that early in the morning of the 11th all the administrative bodies should meet; that all the sections should be under arms; that the guard of all the public places, chests, depôts, &c., should be augmented by two hundred men for each post; that numerous reserves should be stationed at different points, with a strong artillery; and that an escort of picked men should accompany the carriage.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 11th, the *général* announced to the capital this novel and melancholy scene. Numerous troops surrounded the Temple, and the din of arms and the tramp of horses reached the prisoners, who affected ignorance of the cause of all this bustle. At nine in the morning the family repaired as usual to the King's apartment to breakfast. The municipal officers, more vigilant than ever, prevented by their presence any outpouring of affection. The family was at length separated. In vain the King desired that his son should be left with him for a few moments. In spite of his entreaties the young Prince was taken away, and he remained alone for about two hours.* The mayor of Paris and the *procureur* of the commune then arrived, and communicated to him the decree of the Convention summoning him to its bar by the name of Louis Capet. "Capet," replied the Prince, "was the name of one of my ancestors; but it is not mine." He then rose, and entered the carriage of the mayor, which was waiting for him. Six hundred picked men surrounded the vehicle. It was preceded by three pieces of cannon, and followed by three more. A numerous body of cavalry formed the advanced and the rear guard. A great concourse of people surveyed in silence this sad cavalcade, and suffered this rigour as it had long submitted to that of the old government. There were some shouts, but very few. The Prince

* "At eleven o'clock, when the King was hearing the Dauphin read, two municipal officers walked in, and told his Majesty that they were come to carry the young Louis to his mother. The King desired to know why he was taken away; the commissioners replied that they were executing the orders of the council of the commune. The King tenderly embraced his son, and charged me to conduct him. On my return I assured his Majesty that I had delivered the Prince to the Queen, which appeared a little to relieve his mind. His Majesty afterwards for some minutes walked about his room in much agitation, then sat down in an arm-chair at the head of the bed. The door stood ajar, but the officer did not like to go in, wishing, as he told me, to avoid questions; but half an hour passing thus in dead silence, he became uneasy at not hearing the King move, and went softly in; he found him leaning with his head upon his hand, apparently in deep thought. The King, on being disturbed, said, 'What do you want with me?' 'I was afraid,' answered the officer, 'that you were unwell.' 'I am obliged to you,' replied the King, in an accent replete with anguish, 'but the manner in which they have taken my son from me cuts me to the heart.' The municipal officer withdrew without saying a word." *Clery*.

was not moved by them, and calmly conversed upon the objects that presented themselves on the way. Having arrived at the Feuillans, he was placed in a room to await the orders of the Assembly.

During this interval several motions were made relative to the manner in which Louis XVI. should be received. It was proposed that no petition should be heard, that no deputy should be allowed to speak, that no token of approbation or disapprobation should be given to the King. "We must awe him," said Legendre, "by the silence of the grave." Murmurs condemned these cruel words. Defermont proposed that a seat should be provided for the accused. This motion was deemed too just to be put to the vote, and a seat was placed at the bar. Out of a ridiculous vanity, Manuel proposed to discuss the question on the order of the day, that they might not appear to be wholly occupied with the King, even though, he added, they should make him wait at the door. They began accordingly to discuss a law concerning the emigrants.

At length Santerre communicated the arrival of Louis XVI. Barrère was president. "Citizens," said he, "the eyes of Europe are upon you. Posterity will judge you with inflexible severity; preserve, then, the dignity and the dispassionate coolness befitting judges. Recollect the awful silence which accompanied Louis when brought back from Varennes."

It was about half-past two when Louis appeared at the bar. The mayor and Generals Santerre and Wittengoff were at his side. Profound silence pervaded the Assembly. All were touched by the dignity of Louis, by the composure of his looks, under so great a reverse of fortune. The deputies of the centre and the Girondins were deeply affected. Even St. Just, Marat, and Robespierre felt their fanaticism fail them, and were astonished to find a man in the King whose execution they demanded.

"Be seated,"* said Barrère to Louis, "and answer the questions that shall be put to you." Louis seated himself, and listened to the reading of the *acte énonciatif*, article by

* "When the president, Barrère, said to his King, 'Louis, asseyez-vous,' we feel more indignation even than when he is accused of crimes which he never committed. One must have sprung from the very dust not to respect past obligations, particularly when misfortune has rendered them sacred; and vulgarity joined to crime inspires us with as much contempt as horror."—*Madame de Staël*.

"Barrère escaped during the different ebullitions of the Revolution, because he was a man without principle or character, who changed and adapted himself to every side. He had the reputation of being a man of talent, but I did not find him so. I employed him to write, but he displayed no ability. He used many flowers of rhetoric, but no solid argument."—*Napoleon's Conversations with O'Meara*.



article. All the faults of the Court were there enumerated, and imputed to Louis XVI. personally. He was charged with the interruption of the sittings of the 20th of June 1789, with the bed of justice held on the 23rd of the same month, the aristocratic conspiracy thwarted by the insurrection of the 14th of July, the entertainments of the life-guards, the insults offered to the national cockade, the refusal to sanction the declaration of rights, as well as several constitutional articles; lastly, all the facts which indicated a new conspiracy in October, and which were followed by the scenes of the 5th and 6th; the speeches of reconciliation which had succeeded all these scenes, and which promised a change that was not sincere; the false oath taken at the Federation of the 14th of July; the secret practices of Talon and Mirabeau to effect a counter-revolution; the money spent in bribing a great number of deputies; the assemblage of the "Knights of the Dagger" on the 28th of February 1791; the flight to Varennes; the fusillade of the Champ de Mars; the silence observed respecting the Treaty of Pilnitz; the delay in the promulgation of the decree which incorporated Avignon with France; the commotions at Nîmes, Montauban, Mende, and Jalès; the continuance of their pay to the emigrant life-guards and to the disbanded constitutional guard; the insufficiency of the armies assembled on the frontiers; the refusal to sanction the decree for the camp of twenty thousand men; the disarming of the fortresses; the tardy communication of the march of the Prussians; the organization of secret societies in the interior of Paris; the review of the Swiss and the troops composing the garrison of the palace on the morning of the 10th of August; the doubling of that guard; the summoning of the mayor to the Tuileries; and lastly, the effusion of blood which had been the consequence of these military dispositions.

By refusing to admit as natural regret for his former power, every point in the conduct of the King was capable of being turned into a crime; for his conduct was but one long regret, mingled with some timid efforts to recover what he had lost. After each article the president paused and said, "What have you to answer?" The King, always answering in a firm voice, denied some of the facts, imputed others to his ministers, and constantly supported himself upon the constitution, from which he declared that he had never deviated. His answers were all very temperate; but to the charge, *You spilt the blood of the people on the 10th of August*, he exclaimed with emphasis, "No, Sir, no; it was not I!"

All the papers were then shown to him, and availing himself

of a respectable privilege, he refused to avow part of them, and disputed the existence of the Iron Chest. This denial produced an unfavourable effect, and it was impolitic, because the fact was demonstrated. He then demanded a copy of the act of accusation and of the other papers, and counsel to assist him in his defence.

The president signified that he might retire. He partook of some refreshment provided for him in the next room, and then getting into the carriage, was conveyed back to the Temple. He arrived there at half-past six, and the first thing he did was to ask to see his family. This favour was refused, and he was told that the commune had ordered the separation during the proceedings. At half-past eight, when supper was announced, he again desired to kiss his children. The jealousy of the commune rendered all his keepers hard-hearted, and this consolation was again denied him.

The Assembly was meanwhile thrown into a tumult in consequence of the application of Louis XVI. for the assistance of counsel. Petion strongly insisted that this application ought to be granted. It was opposed by Tallien,* Chabot, Merlin, and Billaud-Varennnes,† who said that it was nothing but an attempt to delay judgment by means of chicanery. The Assembly in the end granted counsel. A deputation was sent to communicate the circumstance to Louis XVI., and to ask whom he would choose. The King named Target, or if he could not have him, Tronchet,‡ and both if possible. He also desired to be furnished with pen, ink, and paper, in order to prepare his defence, and to be permitted to see his family. The Convention forthwith decided that he should be supplied with materials for writing, that intimation should be given to the two advocates whom he had chosen, that he should be allowed to communicate freely with them, and that he should be allowed to see his family.

Target refused the commission given to him by Louis XVI., assigning as a reason that he had been obliged to discontinue his practice ever since the year 1785.§ Tronchet immediately

* See Appendix MM.

† "Of all the sanguinary monsters, observed Napoleon, who reigned in the Revolution, Billaud de Varennes was the worst."—*Voice from St. Helena*.

‡ "One of Napoleon's first acts on becoming First Consul was to place Tronchet at the head of the Court of Cassation. 'Tronchet,' he said, 'was the soul of the civil code, as I was its demonstrator. He was gifted with a singularly profound and correct understanding, but he could not descend to developments.' Tronchet died in 1806."—*Las Cases*.

§ "Cambacérès declared that Target's example endangered public morality. Target attempted in vain to repair the disgrace by publishing a short defence of the King."—*Lacretelle*.

wrote that he was ready to undertake the defence committed to him ; and while the Assembly was considering the appointment of a new counsel, a letter was received from a citizen of seventy, the venerable Malesherbes,* the friend and companion of Turgot, and the most respected magistrate in France. The noble veteran wrote as follows to the president : " I have been twice called to be counsel for him who was my master, in times when that duty was coveted by every one : I owe him the same service now that it is a duty which many people deem dangerous." He requested the president to inform Louis XVI. that he was ready to devote himself to his defence.

Many other citizens made the like offers, which were communicated to the King. He declined them all, accepting only Tronchet and Malesherbes. The commune decided that the two counsel should undergo the strictest search before they were admitted to their client. The Convention, which had directed *free communication*, renewed its order, and they were allowed to enter the Temple freely. On seeing Malesherbes, the King ran forward to meet him. The venerable old man sank at his feet and burst into tears. The King raised him, and they remained long clasped in each other's embrace.† They immediately fell to work upon his defence. Commissioners of the Assembly brought the documents every day to the Temple, and had directions to communicate them, but not to let them go out of their possession. The King perused them with great attention, and with a composure which every time excited more and more astonishment in the commissioners.

The only consolation which he had solicited, that of seeing his family, had not yet been granted him, notwithstanding the decree of the Convention. The commune, continuing to raise obstacles, had demanded a copy of the decree. " It is to no purpose to order," said Tallien to the Convention ; " if the commune does not choose to comply, nothing will come of it." These insolent words had raised a violent tumult. The Assembly, however, modifying its decree, ordered that the King should be allowed to have his two children with him, but on condition that they should not return to their mother till the trial was over. The King, sensible that they were

* See Appendix NN.

† " The first time M. Malesherbes entered the Temple, the King clasped him in his arms and said, ' Ah, is it you, my friend ? You fear not to endanger your own life to save mine ; but all will be useless ; they will bring me to the scaffold ; no matter—I shall gain my cause if I leave an unspotted memory behind me.' "—*Hue*.

more necessary to their mother, would not take them from her, and submitted to this new sorrow with a resignation which no circumstances could shake.

The further the proceedings advanced, the more the importance of the question was felt. Some were aware that to proceed against ancient royalty by regicide was to involve themselves in an inexorable system of vengeance and cruelty, and to declare war to the death against the old order of things. They would fain abolish that state of things, but they had no wish to destroy it in so violent a manner. Others, on the contrary, were desirous of engaging in this war to the death, which admitted of no weakness, no turning back, and placed an abyss between the monarchy and the Revolution. In this comprehensive question the person of the King was almost entirely lost sight of; and the inquiry was confined to this one point, whether they ought or ought not to break entirely with the past by a signal and terrible act. They fixed their eyes on the result only, regardless of the victim upon which the stroke was about to fall.

The Girondins, persevering in their attacks on the Jacobins, were continually reminding them of the crimes of September, and holding them up as anarchists who wished to rule the Convention by terror, and to sacrifice the King for the purpose of setting up triumvirs in his stead. Guadet well-nigh succeeded in driving them from the Convention, by procuring a decree that the electoral assemblies of all France should be convoked, in order to confirm or to cashier their deputies. This proposition, decreed and reported in a few minutes, had exceedingly alarmed the Jacobins. Other circumstances annoyed them still more. The federalists continued to arrive from all quarters. The municipalities sent a multitude of addresses, in which, while approving of the republic, and congratulating the Assembly on having instituted it, they condemned the crimes and the excesses of anarchy. The affiliated societies still continued to reproach the mother society for harbouring in its bosom bloody-minded men, who perverted the public morals, and were ready to attempt the overthrow of the Convention itself. Some of them denied their mother, declared that they renounced all connection with her, and that at the first signal they would fly to Paris to support the Convention. All of them particularly insisted on the erasure of Marat's name, and some even of that of Robespierre also.

The alarmed Jacobins acknowledged that public opinion was indeed changing for the worse in France; they recommended

to each other to keep united, and to lose no time in writing to the provinces for the purpose of enlightening their misled brethren; they accused the traitor Roland of intercepting their correspondence, and substituting for it hypocritical papers which perverted people's minds. They proposed a voluntary donation for circulating good papers, and particularly the *admirable* speeches of Robespierre, and sought means for transmitting them in spite of Roland, who, they said, violated the liberty of the post. They agreed, however, on one point, that Marat compromised them by the violence of his writings; and it was necessary, according to them, that the mother society should declare to France what difference it found between Marat, whose inflammatory disposition carried him beyond all bounds, and the wise and virtuous Robespierre, who, always keeping within proper limits, desired, without weakness, but without exaggeration, what was just and possible. A vehement quarrel ensued between these two. It was admitted that Marat was a man of strong, bold mind, but too hot-headed. He had been serviceable, it was said, to the cause of the people, but he knew not where to stop. Marat's partisans replied that he did not deem it necessary to execute all that he had said, and that he knew better than any one else where to stop. They quoted various expressions of his. Marat had said, "There needs but one Marat in a republic." "I demand the greater to obtain the less." "My hand should wither rather than write, if I thought that the people would literally execute all that I advise." "I cheat the people because I know that it is driving a bargain with me." The tribunes had supported this justification of Marat by their applause. The society, however, had resolved to issue an address, in which, describing the characters of Marat and Robespierre, it would show what difference it made between the sound sense of the one and the vehemence of the other.* After this measure they purposed adopting several others, and in particular they intended to demand continually the departure of the federalists for the frontiers. If news arrived that the army of Dumouriez was weakened by desertion, they cried out that it was indispensably necessary to send off federalists to reinforce it. Marat wrote that the volunteers who had first marched had been gone above a year, and that it was time to send off those who were sojourning in Paris to relieve them. Intelligence had just been received that Custine had been obliged to give up Frankfort, and that Beurnonville had unsuccessfully attacked the electorate

* See Appendix OO.

of Trèves! and the Jacobins maintained that if those two generals had had with them the federalists who were uselessly loitering in the capital, they would not have experienced those checks.

The various accounts of the useless attempt of Beurnonville, and the check sustained by Custine, had strongly agitated the public mind. Both these circumstances might easily have been foreseen, for Beurnonville, attacking inaccessible positions in an unfavourable season and without sufficient means, could not possibly succeed; and Custine, persisting in not falling back spontaneously upon the Rhine, lest he should confess his temerity, was sure to be forced to a retreat upon Mayence. Public misfortunes furnish parties with occasions for reproach. The Jacobins, hating the generals suspected of aristocracy, declaimed against them, and accused them of being Feuillans and Girondins. Marat did not fail to inveigh anew against the mania of conquest, which, he said, he had always condemned, and which was nothing but a disguised ambition of the generals to attain a formidable degree of power. Robespierre, directing the censure according to the suggestions of his hatred, maintained that it was not the generals who ought to be accused, but the infamous faction which controlled the Assembly and the executive power. The traitor Roland, the intriguing Brissot, the scoundrels Louvet, Guadet, and Vergniaud, were the authors of all the calamities of France. He longed to be the first whom they should murder; but he desired above all things to have the pleasure of denouncing them. Dumouriez and Custine, he added, knew them, and took care not to class themselves along with them; but everybody feared them, because they had at their disposal money, places, and all the resources of the republic. Their intention was to make themselves its masters; to this end they fettered all genuine patriots; they prevented the development of their energy, and thus exposed France to the risk of being conquered by her enemies. Their principal intention was to destroy the society of the Jacobins, and to butcher all who should have the courage to oppose them. "And for my part," exclaimed Robespierre, "I desire to be assassinated by Roland!" (Sitting of the 12th of December.)

This furious hatred, spreading throughout the society, agitated it like a stormy sea. It promised itself a mortal combat against the faction. It renounced beforehand all idea of reconciliation, and as there had been talk of a fresh plan of compromise, its members bound themselves never on any account to *kiss and be friends*.

Similar scenes were occurring in the Assembly during the time allowed to Louis XVI. for preparing his defence. Every opportunity was seized for repeating that the royalists were everywhere threatening the patriots, and circulating pamphlets in favour of the King. Thuriot proposed an expedient, which was to punish with death any one who should conceive the design of breaking the unity of the republic, or separating any portion from it. This was a decree directed against the fable of federalism, that is, against the Girondins. Buzot lost no time in replying by another decree, and insisted on the exile of the Orleans family. The parties charged each other with falsehood, and revenged themselves for calumnies by other calumnies. While the Jacobins accused the Girondins of federalism, the latter reproached the former with destroying the throne for the Duc d'Orleans, and with desiring the sacrifice of Louis XVI. merely for the purpose of rendering it vacant.

The Duc d'Orleans* lived in Paris, striving in vain to make himself be forgotten in the bosom of the Convention. This place most assuredly was not suited to him, amidst furious demagogues. But whither was he to fly? In Europe the emigrants were ready for him, and insult, nay, perhaps even death, threatened this kinsman of royalty who had repudiated his birthright and his rank. In France he strove to disguise that rank under the humblest titles, and he called himself *Egalité*. But still there remained the ineffaceable remembrance of his former existence, and the ever-present testimony of his immense wealth. Unless he were to put on rags, and render himself contemptible by dint of cynicism, how was he to escape suspicion? In the ranks of the Girondins he would have been undone the very first day, and all the charges of royalism preferred against them would have been justified. In those of the Jacobins he would have the violence of Paris for a support: but he could not have escaped the accusations of the Girondins; and this it was that actually befell him. The latter, never forgiving him for having joined the ranks of their enemies,

* "The conduct of this nobleman all through the Revolution was, in my opinion, uncalled for, indecent, and profligate, and his fate not unmerited. Persons situated as he was cannot take a decided part one way or the other without doing violence either to the dictates of reason and justice, or to all their natural sentiments; unless they are characters of that heroic stamp, as to be raised above suspicion or temptation. The only way for all others is to stand aloof from a struggle in which they have no alternative but to commit a parricide on their country or their friends; and to await the issue in silence and at a distance. No confidence can be placed in those excesses of public principle which are founded on the sacrifice of every private affection and of habitual self-esteem."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*.

supposed that, to make himself endurable, he lavished his wealth on anarchists, and lent them the aid of his mighty fortune.

The suspicious Louvet thought better of him, and sincerely believed that he still cherished the hope of royalty. Without sharing that opinion, but for the purpose of combating the sally of Thuriot by another, Buzot ascended the tribune.

"If," said he, "the decree proposed by Thuriot is calculated to restore confidence, I am going to propose one which will do so in no less a degree. The monarchy is overthrown, but it still lives in the habits, in the memory, of its ancient creatures. Let us imitate the Romans. They expelled Tarquin and his family: like them, let us expel the family of the Bourbons. One part of that family is in confinement; but there is another, far more dangerous, because it was more popular—I mean that of Orleans. The bust of Orleans was paraded through Paris. His sons, boiling with courage, are distinguishing themselves in our armies, and the very merits of that family render it dangerous to liberty. Let it make a last sacrifice to the country by exiling itself from her bosom; let it carry elsewhere the misfortune of having stood near the throne, and the still greater misfortune of bearing a name which is hateful to us, and which cannot fail to shock the ear of a free man."

Louvet followed Buzot, and apostrophizing Orleans himself, reminded him of the voluntary exile of Collatinus, and exhorted him to follow his example. Lanjuinais referred to the elections of Paris, at which Orleans was returned, and which were held under the daggers of the anarchical faction. He referred to the efforts that had been made to appoint a chancellor of the house of Orleans to the post of minister at war, and to the influence which the sons of that family had acquired in the army; and for all these reasons he moved the banishment of the Bourbons. Bazire, St. Just, and Chabot opposed the motion, rather out of opposition to the Girondins than kindness for Orleans. They maintained that it was not the moment to persecute the only one of the Bourbons who had conducted himself with sincerity towards the nation; that they must first punish the Bourbon prisoner, then frame a constitution, and afterwards turn their attention to such citizens as had become dangerous; that at any rate, to send Orleans out of France was to send him to death, and they ought at least to defer that cruel measure. Banishment was nevertheless decreed by acclamation. The only point then was to fix the period of banishment in drawing up the decree. "Since you resort to the ostracism against *Egalité*," said Merlin, "employ it against

all dangerous men, and first and foremost I demand it against the executive power." "Against Roland!" exclaimed Albitte. "Against Roland and Pache!" added Barrère, "who are become a cause of dissension among us. Let them both be banished from the ministry, to give us back tranquillity and union." Kersaint, however, was apprehensive lest England should take advantage of this disorganization of the ministry to commence a disastrous war against us, as she did in 1757, when d'Argenson and Mackau were dismissed.

Rewbel asked if a representative of the people could be banished, and if Philip Egalité did not belong in that quality to the nation which had deputed him.

These different observations checked the excitement. The Assembly stopped short, reverted to the original motion, and without revoking the decree of banishment against the Bourbons, adjourned the discussion for three days, to allow men's minds time to become calm, and to weigh more maturely the question whether Egalité could be banished, and whether the two ministers of the interior and of war could be superseded without danger.

It is easy to conceive the tumult that prevailed in the sections, at the commune, and at the Jacobins, after this discussion. On all sides the ostracism was called for, and petitions were prepared, praying for the resumption of the discussion. The three days having elapsed, the discussion was resumed. The mayor came at the head of the sections to apply for the report of the decree. The Assembly passed to the order of the day, after the reading of the address; but Petion, seeing what a tumult this question excited, proposed its adjournment till after the trial of Louis XVI. This sort of compromise was adopted, and then the victim against whom all passions were whetted was anew assailed. The celebrated trial was therefore immediately resumed.

The time granted to Louis XVI. for preparing his defence was scarcely sufficient for the examination of the immense mass of materials upon which it was to be founded. His two defenders demanded permission to associate with themselves a third, younger and more active, to draw up and to deliver the defence, while they would seek and prepare matter for it. This young adjunct was Desèze,* the advocate who had defended Bezenval after the 14th of July. The Convention, having granted the defence, did not refuse an additional counsel, and Desèze, like Malesherbes and Tronchet, had free

* See Appendix PP.

access to the Temple. The papers were carried thither every day by a commission and shown to Louis XVI., who received them with great coolness, "just as if the proceedings concerned some other person," said a report of the commune. He showed the greatest politeness to the commissioners, and had refreshments brought for them when the sittings lasted longer than usual. While he was thus engaged with his trial, he had devised a method of corresponding with his family. The papers and pens furnished for the purpose of his defence enabled him to write to it, and the Princesses pricked their answer upon the paper with a pin. Sometimes these notes were doubled up in balls of thread, which an attendant belonging to the kitchen threw under the table when he brought in the dishes; sometimes they were let down by a string from one story to the other. The unhappy prisoners thus acquainted each other with the state of their health, and it was a great consolation to them to know that they were all well.

At length M. Desèze, labouring night and day, completed his defence. The King insisted on retrenching from it all that was too rhetorical, and on confining it to the mere discussion of the points which it was essential to urge.* On the 26th, at half-past nine in the morning, the whole armed force was in motion to conduct him from the Temple to the Feuillans, with the same precautions and in the same order as had been observed on the former occasion. Riding in the carriage of the mayor, he conversed on the way with the same composure as usual; talked of Seneca, of Livy, of the hospitals; he even addressed a very neat joke to one of the municipal officers who sat in the carriage with his hat on.† Arrived at the Feuillans, he showed great anxiety for his defenders; he seated himself beside them in the Assembly, surveyed with great composure the benches where his accusers and his judges sat, seemed to examine their faces with the view of discovering the impression produced by the pleading of M. Desèze, and more than once he conversed, smiling, with Tronchet and Malesherbes. The Assembly received his defence in sullen silence, and without any tokens of disapprobation.

* "When the pathetic peroration of M. Desèze was read to the King the evening before it was to be delivered to the Assembly, 'I have to request of you,' he said, 'to make a painful sacrifice; strike out of your pleading the peroration. It is enough for me to appear before such judges, and show my entire innocence; I will not move their feelings.'"—*Lacretelle*.

† "When Santerre took the King to his trial he kept on his hat the whole way; on which his Majesty jocularly remarked, 'The last time, Sir, you conveyed me to the Temple, in your hurry you forgot your hat, and now I perceive you are determined to make up for the omission,'"—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*.

The advocate considered in the first place the principles of law, and in the second the facts imputed to Louis XVI. Though the Assembly, in deciding that the King should be tried by it, had explicitly decreed that the inviolability could not be invoked, M. Desèze very ably demonstrated that nothing could limit the defence, and that it remained intact even after the decree; that consequently, if Louis deemed the inviolability maintainable, he had a right to lay stress on it. He was obliged at the outset to admit the sovereignty of the people; and with all the defenders of the constitution of 1791, he insisted that the sovereignty, though absolute mistress, could bind itself; that it had chosen to do so in regard to Louis XVI., in stipulating the inviolability; that it had not willed an absurd thing according to the system of the monarchy; that consequently the engagement ought to be executed; and that all possible crimes, had the King been guilty of them, could not be punished otherwise than by dethronement. He asserted that without this the constitution of 1791 would be but a barbarous snare laid for Louis XVI., since a promise would have been made him with the secret intention of not performing it. He then said that if Louis was denied his rights as king, those of citizen ought at least to be left him; and he asked where were the conservative forms which every citizen had a right to claim, such as the distinction between the jury of accusation and that of judgment, the faculty of rejection, the majority of the two-thirds, the secret vote, and the silence of the judges while forming their opinion.

He added, with a boldness that met with nothing but absolute silence, that he sought everywhere for judges, and found none but accusers. He then proceeded to the discussion of the facts, which he classed under two heads—those which had preceded, and those which had followed, the acceptance of the constitutional act. The former were shielded by the acceptance of that act; the latter, by the inviolability. Still he refused not to discuss them, and he did so with advantage, because a multitude of insignificant circumstances had been collected, in default of precise proof of concert with foreigners, of which people felt persuaded, but of which no positive evidence had yet been obtained. He repelled victoriously the charge of shedding French blood on the 10th of August. On that day, in fact, the aggressor was not Louis XVI., but the people. It was lawful for Louis XVI., when attacked, to strive to defend himself, and to take the necessary precautions. The magistrates themselves had approved this course, and had given the

troops a formal order to repel force by force. Notwithstanding this, said M. Desèze, the King, unwilling to avail himself of this authority, which he held both from nature and the law, had withdrawn into the bosom of the Legislative Body, for the purpose of avoiding bloodshed. With the conflict that followed he had nothing to do. Nay, it ought to earn him thanks rather than vengeance, since it was in compliance with an order from his hand that the Swiss gave up the defence of the palace and their lives. It was therefore a crying injustice to charge Louis XVI. with having spilt French blood. On that point he had been irreproachable. He had, on the contrary, proved himself to be full of delicacy and humanity.

The advocate concluded with this brief and just passage; the only one in which the virtues of Louis XVI. were touched upon.

“Louis ascended the throne at the age of twenty, and at the age of twenty he gave upon the throne an example of morality. He carried to it no culpable weakness, no corrupting passion. In that station he was economical, just, and severe, and proved himself the constant friend of the people. The people wished for the abolition of a disastrous impost which oppressed them: he abolished it. The people demanded the abolition of servitude: he began by abolishing it himself in his domains. The people solicited reforms in the criminal legislation, to alleviate the condition of accused persons: he made those reforms. The people desired that thousands of Frenchmen, whom the rigour of our customs had till then deprived of the rights belonging to the citizens, might either acquire or be restored to those rights: he extended that benefit to them by his laws. The people wanted liberty; and he conferred it. He even anticipated their wishes by his sacrifices; and yet it is in the name of this very people that men are now demanding—Citizens, I shall not finish—I pause before history. Consider that it will judge your judgment, and that its judgment will be that of ages!”

As soon as his defender had finished, Louis XVI. delivered a few observations which he had written. “My means of defence,” said he, “are now before you. I shall not repeat them. In addressing you, perhaps for the last time, I declare that my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and that my defenders have told you the truth.

“I was never afraid that my conduct should be publicly examined; but it wounds me to the heart to find in the act of accusation the imputation that I caused the blood of the people to be spilt, and above all, that the calamitous events of the 10th of August are attributed to me.

"I confess that the multiplied proofs which I have given at all times of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have always conducted myself, ought in my opinion to demonstrate that I was not afraid to expose myself in order to prevent bloodshed, and to clear me for ever from such an imputation." *

The president then asked Louis XVI. if he had anything more to say in his defence. Louis having declared that he had not, the president informed him that he might retire. Conducted to an adjoining room with his counsel, he showed great anxiety about young Desèze, who appeared to be fatigued with the long defence. In driving back he conversed with the same serenity with those who accompanied him, and reached the Temple at five o'clock.

No sooner had he left the hall of the Convention than a violent tumult arose there. Some were for opening the discussion. Others, complaining of the everlasting delays which postponed the decision of this process, demanded the vote immediately, remarking that in every court, after the accused had been heard, the judges proceed to give their opinion. Lanjuinais † harboured from the commencement of the proceedings an indignation which his impetuous disposition no longer suffered him to repress. He darted to the tribune, and amidst the cries excited by his presence, he demanded not the postponement of the discussion, but the annulling of the proceedings altogether. He exclaimed that the days of ferocious men were gone by; that the Assembly ought not to be so dishonoured as to be made to sit in judgment on Louis XVI.; that no authority in France had that right, and the Assembly in particular had no claim to it; that if it resolved to act as a political body, it could do no more than take measures of safety against the *ci-devant* King; but that if it was acting as a court of justice it was overstepping all principles, for it was subjecting the vanquished to be tried by the very conqueror, since most of the present members had declared themselves the conspirators of the 10th of August. At the word *conspirators* a tremendous uproar arose on all sides. Cries of *Order! To the Abbaye! Down with the tribune!* were heard. Lanjuinais strove in vain to justify the word *conspirators*, saying

* "The example of Charles I., who had proceeded to extremities with the Parliament, and lost his head, prevented Louis on many occasions from making the defence which he ought to have done against the Revolutionists. When brought to trial he ought merely to have said that by the law he could do no wrong, and that his person was sacred. It would have had no effect in saving his life, but he would have died with more dignity."—*Voices from St. Helena.*

† See Appendix QQ.

that he meant it to be taken in a favourable sense, and that the 10th of August was a glorious conspiracy. He proceeded amidst noise, and concluded with declaring that he would rather die a thousand deaths than condemn, contrary to all laws, even the most execrable of tyrants.

A great number of speakers followed, and the confusion kept continually increasing. The members, determined not to hear any more, mingled together, formed groups, abused and threatened one another. After a tempest of an hour's duration tranquillity was at last restored, and the Assembly, adopting the opinion of those who demanded the discussion on the trial of Louis XVI., declared that the discussion was opened, and that it should be continued to the exclusion of all other business till sentence should be passed.

The discussion was therefore resumed on the 27th. The numerous speakers who had already been heard again appeared at the tribune. Among these was St. Just. The presence of Louis XVI. humbled, vanquished, and still serene in misfortune, had caused some objections to arise in his mind. But he answered these objections by calling Louis a modest and supple tyrant, who had oppressed with modesty, who defended himself with modesty, and against whose insinuating mildness it was necessary to be guarded with the greatest care. He convoked the States-general, but it was with a view to humble the nobility, and to reign by causing division. Accordingly, when he saw the power of the States rising so rapidly, he strove to destroy it. On the 14th of July, and on the 5th and 6th of October, he was seen secretly amassing means for crushing the people; but every time that his plots were thwarted by the national energy he pretended to change his conduct, and manifested a hypocritical joy—a joy that was not natural—at his own defeat and the victory of the people. Subsequently, having it no longer in his power to employ force, he plotted with foreigners, and placed his ministers in the most embarrassing situation, so that one of them wrote to him, “Your secret relations prevent me from executing the laws, and I shall resign.” In short, he had employed all the means of the deepest perfidy till the 10th of August; and now he still put on a feigned mildness, to warp his judges, and to escape from their hands.

It was in this light that the very natural indecision of Louis XVI. appeared to a violent mind, which discovered a wilful and premeditated perfidy where there was nothing but weakness and regret of the past. Other speakers followed St. Just, and considerable impatience was felt that the Girondins should

express their sentiments. They had not yet spoken, and it was high time for them to explain themselves. We have already seen how undecided they were, how disposed to be moved, and how prone to excuse in Louis XVI. a resistance which they were more capable of comprehending than their adversaries. Vergniaud admitted, with a few friends, how deeply his feelings were affected.* The others, without being so sensibly touched, perhaps, were all disposed to interest themselves in behalf of the victim; and in this situation they devised an expedient which evinces their sympathy and the embarrassment of their position. That expedient was an appeal to the people. To rid themselves of a dangerous responsibility, and to throw upon the nation the charge of barbarity if the King should be condemned, or that of royalism if he should be acquitted, was the aim of the Girondins; and this was an act of weakness. Since they were touched by the sight of the deep distress of Louis XVI., they ought to have had the courage to defend him themselves, and not kindle civil war by referring to the forty-four thousand sections into which France was divided, a question that was likely to array all the parties against one another, and to rouse the most furious passions. They ought to have seized the authority with a strong hand, and to have had the courage to employ it themselves, without shifting from their own shoulders to those of the multitude an affair of which it was incapable, and which would have exposed the country to frightful confusion.† Here the Girondins gave their adver-

* "It is known that throughout the King's trial the deputy Vergniaud seemed in despair, and passed the whole night immediately after the monarch's condemnation in tears; and it is probable that the same night was as dreadful to all his colleagues, if we except a small number who in their absurd ferocity declared in the National Assembly that Louis XVI. deserved death for the single crime of being a king, and condemned him merely because they wished to destroy royalty."—*Bertrand de Molléville*.

† "The Girondins, said Napoleon, condemned the King to death, and yet the majority of them had voted for the appeal to the people, which was intended to save him. This forms the inexplicable part of their conduct. Had they wished to preserve his life, they had the power to do so; nothing more would have been necessary than to adjourn the sentence, or condemn him to exile or transportation. But to condemn him to death, and at the same time endeavour to make his fate depend on a popular vote, was the height of imprudence and absurdity; it was, after having destroyed the monarchy, to endeavour to tear France in pieces by a civil war. It was this false combination which ruined them. Vergniaud, their main pillar, was the very man who proclaimed, as president, the death of Louis; and he did this at the moment when the force of their party was such in the Assembly that it required several months' labour, and more than one popular insurrection, to overturn it. That party might have ruled the Convention, destroyed the Mountain, and governed France, if they had at once pursued a manly, straightforward conduct. It was the refinements of metaphysicians which occasioned their fall."—*Las Cases*.

saries an immense advantage, by authorizing them to assert that they were fomenting civil war, and giving them reason to suspect their courage and their sincerity. Hence some did not fail to say at the club of the Jacobins, that those who wished to acquit Louis XVI. were more sincere and more estimable than those who were for appealing to the people. But such is the usual conduct of moderate parties. Behaving on this occasion as on the 2nd and 3rd of September, the Girondins hesitated to compromise themselves for a King whom they considered as an enemy, and who, they were persuaded, had meant to destroy them by the sword of foreigners; yet, moved at the sight of this vanquished enemy, they strove to defend him, they were indignant at the violence committed in regard to him, and they did enough to ruin themselves without doing sufficient to save him.

Salles,* who, of all the members of the Assembly, lent himself most readily to the fancies of Louvet, and who even surpassed him in the supposition of imaginary plots, first proposed and supported the system of appeal to the people in the sitting of the 27th. Giving up the conduct of Louis XVI. to all the censure of the republicans, and admitting that it deserved all the severity that it was possible to exercise, he insisted, nevertheless, that it was not an act of vengeance, but a great political act that it was incumbent on the Assembly to perform. He maintained, therefore, that it was with reference to the public interest that the question ought to be decided. Now, in both cases, of acquittal or of condemnation, he perceived prodigious inconveniences. Acquittal would be an everlasting cause of discord, and the King would become the rallying-point of all the parties. The Assembly would be continually reminded of his attempts by way of reproach for its indulgence: this impunity would be a public scandal, which might perhaps occasion popular commotions, and furnish a pretext to all the agitators. The atrocious wretches who had already convulsed the State by their crimes would not fail to avail themselves of this impunity to perpetrate fresh horrors, as they had availed themselves of the listlessness of the tribunals to commit the massacres of September. In short, the Convention would be accused on all sides of not having had the courage to put an end to so many agitations, and to found the republic by an energetic and terrible example.

If condemned, the King would bequeath to his family all the pretensions of his race, and bequeath them to brothers more

* See Appendix RR.

dangerous, because they were in less disrepute for weakness. The people, seeing no longer the crimes, but the punishment, would perhaps begin to pity the fate of the King, and the factions would find in this disposition another medium of exasperating them against the National Convention. The sovereigns of Europe would keep a dead silence, awaiting an event which must, they would hope, awaken general indignation; but the moment the head of the King should have fallen, that moment all of them, profiting by this pretext, would rush at once upon France to tear her in pieces. Then, perhaps, France, blinded by her sufferings, would reproach the Convention for an act which had brought upon her a cruel and disastrous war.

"Such," said Salles, "is the dire alternative offered to the National Convention. In such a situation it is for the nation itself to decide and to fix its own fate in fixing that of Louis XVI. The danger of civil war is chimerical; for civil war did not break out when the primary assemblies were convoked for the purpose of appointing a Convention which was to decide upon the fate of France; and as little apprehension of it appears to be entertained on an occasion quite as momentous, since to these same primary assemblies is referred the sanction of the constitution. It is idle to oppose the delays and difficulties of a new deliberation in forty-four thousand assemblies; for the point is not to deliberate, but to choose without discussion between two courses proposed by the Convention. Let the question be thus propounded to the primary assemblies: 'Shall Louis XVI. be punished with death, or detained till the peace?' and let them answer in these words: *Detained*, or *Put to death*. With extraordinary couriers, the answers may arrive in a fortnight from the remotest extremities of France."

Very different were the feelings with which this opinion was listened to. Serres, deputy of the Hautes Alpes, retracted his first opinion, which was in favour of judgment, and demanded the appeal to the people. Barbaroux combated the justification of Louis XVI., without adopting any conclusions, for he durst not acquit contrary to the opinion of his constituents, nor condemn against that of his friends. Buzot declared for the appeal to the people, but he modified the proposition of Salles, desiring that the Convention should itself take the initiative by voting for death, and requiring of the primary assemblies the mere sanction of that sentence. Rabaut St. Etienne,* the Protestant minister, who had already distinguished himself by

* See Appendix SS.

his talents in the Constituent Assembly, was indignant at the accumulation of powers arrogated to itself by the Convention. "For my part," said he, "I am weary of my portion of despotism. I am fatigued, harassed, tormented, with the tyranny which I exercise for my share, and I long for the moment when you shall have created a tribunal that shall divest me of the forms and the look of a tyrant. You seek reasons of policy. Those reasons are in history. Those people of London who had so strongly urged the execution of the King were the first to curse his judges, and to fall prostrate before his successor. When Charles II. ascended the throne, the City gave him a magnificent entertainment, the people indulged in the most extravagant rejoicings, and ran to witness the execution of those same judges whom Charles sacrificed to the manes of his father. People of Paris, parliament of France, have ye heard me?"

Faure moved for copies of all the decrees issued relative to the trial. At length the gloomy Robespierre again came forward, full of wrath and bitterness. He, too, he said, had been touched, and had felt republican virtue waver in his heart, at the sight of the culprit humbled before the sovereign power. But the last proof of devotedness due to the country was to stifle every movement of sensibility. He then repeated all that he had said on the competence of the Convention, on the everlasting delays thrown in the way of the national vengeance, on the indulgence shown to the tyrant, while the warmest friends of liberty were attacked without any kind of reserve. He declared that this appeal to the people was but a resource similar to that devised by Guadet when he moved for the purificatory scrutiny, that this perfidious resource was designed to unsettle everything—the actual deputation, and the 10th of August, and the republic itself. Constantly reverting to himself and his enemies, he compared their existing situation with that of July 1791, when it was proposed to try Louis XVI. on account of his flight to Varennes. On that occasion Robespierre had acted an important part. He recounted his dangers, as well as the successful efforts of his adversaries to replace Louis XVI. on the throne, the fusillade of the Champ de Mars which had followed, and the perils in which Louis XVI., when replaced on the throne, had involved the public weal. He perfidiously ranked his adversaries of that day with those of former times, and represented himself and France as being in one and the same danger from the intrigues and machinations of those very scoundrels who called themselves honest men. "Now," added Robespierre, "they have nothing to say

upon the most important interests of the country; they abstain from pronouncing their opinion concerning the last King; but their underhand and baneful activity produces all the disturbances which agitate the country; and in order to mislead the sound but frequently mistaken majority, they persecute the most ardent patriots under the designation of the factious minority. The minority, he exclaimed, "has often changed into a majority by enlightening the deluded assemblies. Virtue was always in a minority upon earth! But for this the earth would be peopled by tyrants and slaves. Hampden and Sydney were in the minority, for they expired on a scaffold.* A Critias, an Anitus, a Cæsar, a Clodius, were in the majority; but Socrates was in the minority—for he swallowed hemlock; Cato was in the minority—for he plunged his sword into his bowels." Robespierre then recommended quietness to the people, in order to take away every pretext from their adversaries, who represented the mere applause bestowed on its faithful deputies as rebellion. "People!" cried he, "restrain your plaudits. Shun the theatre of our debates. Out of your sight we shall not fight the less stoutly." He concluded by demanding that Louis XVI. should be immediately declared guilty, and condemned to death.

There was a constant succession of speakers from the 28th to the 31st. Vergniaud at length ascended the tribune for the first time, and an extraordinary eagerness was manifested to hear the Girondins express their sentiments by the lips of their greatest orator, and break that silence of which Robespierre was not the only one to accuse them.

Vergniaud commenced by expounding the principles of the sovereignty of the people, and distinguished the cases in which it was the duty of the representatives to appeal to it. It would be too long, too difficult, to recur to a great nation for all the legislative acts; but in regard to certain acts of extraordinary importance the case is totally different. The constitution, for example, has been destined beforehand to be submitted to the national sanction. But this object is not the only one that deserves an extraordinary sanction. The trial of Louis possesses such grave characteristics, either from the accumulation of powers exercised by the Assembly, or from the inviolability which had been constitutionally granted to the monarch, or lastly, from the political effects which must result from a condemnation, that it is impossible to deny its

* It is scarcely necessary to point out this palpable historical blunder, as every English reader knows that Hampden fell in battle with Prince Rupert, at Chalgrove, in Oxfordshire.

high importance, and the necessity of submitting it to the nation itself. After developing this system, Vergniaud, who refuted Robespierre in particular, at length came to the political inconveniences of the appeal to the people, and touched upon all the great questions which divided the two parties.

He first considered the disturbances which were apprehended from referring to the people the sanction of the sentence passed upon the King. He repeated the reasons adduced by other Girondins, and maintained that, if no fear of civil war was felt in convoking the primary assemblies for the purpose of sanctioning the constitution, he did not see why such a result should be dreaded from calling them together in order to sanction the sentence upon the King. This reason, frequently repeated, was of little weight, for the constitution was not the real question of the Revolution. It could but be the detailed regulation of an institution already decreed and assented to—the republic. But the death of the King was a formidable question. The point was to decide if, in proceeding by the way of death against royalty, the Revolution would break irretrievably with the past, and advance, by vengeance and an inexorable energy, to the goal which it proposed to itself. Now, if so terrible a question produced such a decided division in the Convention and Paris, there would be the greatest danger in again proposing it to the forty-four thousand sections of the French territory. Tumultuous disputes took place at all the theatres, in all the popular societies; and it was requisite that the Convention should have the nerve to decide the question itself, that it might not have to refer it to France, which would perhaps resolve it by arms.

Vergniaud, holding the same opinion as his friends on this subject, maintained that civil war was not to be apprehended. He said that in the departments agitators had not gained the preponderance which a base weakness had suffered them to usurp in Paris; that they had certainly spread themselves over the face of the republic, but had everywhere met with nothing but contempt; and that the people had furnished a signal example of obedience to the law by sparing the impure blood which flowed in their veins. He then refuted the fears which had been expressed respecting the real majority, which was said to be composed of intriguers, royalists, and aristocrats; and inveighed against the supercilious assertion that virtue was in a minority upon earth. “Citizens!” he exclaimed, “Catiline was in a minority in the Roman Senate, and had this minority prevailed, all had been over with Rome, the Senate, and liberty. In the Constituent Assembly Maury and

Cazalès were in a minority, and had they prevailed, it had been all over with you! Kings also are in a minority upon earth; and in order to fetter nations they, too, assert that virtue is in a minority. They, too, say that the majority of the people is composed of intriguers, who must be reduced to silence by terror if empires are to be preserved from one general convulsion."

Vergniaud asked if, to form a majority suitable to the wishes of certain persons, it was right to employ banishment and death, to change France into a desert, and thus deliver her up to the schemes of a handful of villains.

Having avenged the majority and France, he avenged himself and his friends, whom he represented as resisting constantly, and with equal courage, all sorts of despotisms—the despotism of the Court, as well as that of the brigands of September. He represented them during the commotion of the 10th of August, sitting amidst the pealing of the cannon of the palace, pronouncing the forfeiture of the crown before the victory of the people, while those Brutuses now so eager to take the lives of prostrate tyrants were hiding their terrors in the bowels of the earth, and thus awaiting the issue of the uncertain battle which liberty was fighting with despotism.

He then hurled upon his adversaries the reproach of provoking civil war. "Yes," said he, "those are desirous of civil war who, preaching up the murder of all the partisans of tyranny, give that appellation to all the victims whom their hatred would fain sacrifice; those who call down daggers upon the representatives of the people, and demand the dissolution of the government and of the Convention; those who wish that the minority may become the ruler of the majority, that it may be able to enforce its opinions by insurrections, and that the Catilines may be called to reign in the Senate. They are desirous of civil war who inculcate these maxims in all the public places, and pervert the people by stigmatizing reason as Feuillantism, justice as pusillanimity, and sacred humanity as conspiracy.

"Civil war!" exclaimed the orator, "for having invoked the sovereignty of the people! . . . Yet in July 1791 ye were more modest. Ye had no desire to paralyze it, and to reign in its stead. Ye circulated a petition for consulting the people on the judgment to be passed upon Louis on his return from Varennes! Ye then wished for the sovereignty of the people, and did not think that invoking it was capable of exciting civil war! Was it that then it favoured your secret views, and that now it is hostile to them?"

The orator then proceeded to other considerations. It had been said that it behoved the Assembly to show sufficient greatness and courage to cause its judgment to be carried into execution itself, without calling the opinion of the people to its support. "Courage!" said he; "it required courage to attack Louis XVI. in the height of his power. Does it require as much to send Louis, vanquished and disarmed, to execution? A Cimbrian soldier entered the prison of Marius with the intention of murdering him. Terrified at the sight of his victim, he fled without daring to strike. Had this soldier been a member of a Senate, do you suppose that he would have hesitated to vote the death of the tyrant? What courage do you find in the performance of an act of which a coward would be capable?"

He then spoke of a different kind of courage—that which is to be displayed against foreign powers. "Since people are continually talking of a great political act," said he, "it may not be amiss to examine the question in that point of view. There is no doubt that the powers are waiting for this last pretext to rush all together upon France. There is as little doubt that we shall conquer them. The heroism of the French soldiers is a sure guarantee of victory; but there must be an increase of expense, of efforts of every kind. If the war constrains us to resort to fresh issues of assignats; if it inflicts new and mortal injuries on commerce; if it causes torrents of blood to be shed upon land and upon sea; what very great services will you have rendered to humanity! What gratitude will the country owe you for having performed in its name, and in contempt of its misconstrued sovereignty, an act of vengeance, that has become the cause or merely the pretext for such calamitous events! I put out of the question," cried the speaker, "all idea of reverses; but will you dare boast to it of your services? There will not be a family but will have to deplore either a father or a son; the farmer will soon be in want of hands; the manufactories will be forsaken; your exhausted treasury will call for new taxes; the social body, harassed by the attacks made upon it by armed enemies from without, and by raging factions within, will sink into a deadly languor. Beware lest amid these triumphs France be like those celebrated monuments in Egypt which have vanquished Time; the stranger who passes is astonished at their magnitude; if he attempts to penetrate into them, what does he find? Inanimate dust, and the silence of the grave."

Besides these fears, there were others which presented themselves to the mind of Vergniaud. They were suggested

to him by English history and by the conduct of Cromwell, the principal though secret author of the death of Charles I. This man, continually urging the people, at first against the King, then against the Parliament itself, at length broke in pieces his weak instrument, and seized the supreme power. "Have you not," added Vergniaud, "have you not heard in this place and elsewhere men crying out, 'If bread is dear, the cause of it is in the Temple; if specie is scarce, if our armies are scantily supplied, the cause of it is in the Temple: if we are shocked every day by the sight of indigence, the cause of it is in the Temple!'"

"And yet those who use this language well know that the dearness of bread, the want of circulation in provisions, the maladministration in the armies, and the indigence, the sight of which afflicts us, spring from other causes than those in the Temple. What, then, are their designs? Who will guarantee to me that these same men who are continually striving to degrade the Convention, and who might possibly have succeeded if the majesty of the people, which resides in it, could depend on their perfidies; that those same men, who are everywhere proclaiming that a new revolution is necessary; who are causing this or that section to be declared in a state of permanent insurrection; who say that when the Convention succeeded Louis we only changed tyrants, and that we want another 10th of August; that those same men who talk of nothing but plots, death, traitors, proscriptions, who insist in the meetings of sections and in their writings that a *defender* ought to be appointed for the republic, and that nothing but a chief can save it;—who, I say, will guarantee to me that these very men will not, after the death of Louis, cry out with greater violence than ever, 'If bread is dear, the cause of it is in the Convention; if money is scarce, if our armies are scantily supplied, the cause of it is in the Convention; if the machine of the government can hardly keep moving, the cause of it is in the Convention charged with the direction of it; if the calamities of war are increased by the declarations of England and Spain, the cause of it is in the Convention, which has provoked those declarations by the hasty condemnation of Louis!'"

"Who will guarantee to me that these seditious outcries of anarchical turbulence will not have the effect of rallying the aristocracy eager for revenge, poverty eager for change, and even pity itself, which inveterate prejudices will have excited for the fate of Louis! Who will guarantee to me that amid this tempest, in which we shall see the murderers of the 2nd of

September issuing from their lairs, there will not be presented to you, dripping with blood, and by the title of liberator, that *defender*, that chief who is said to be so indispensable! A chief! Ah! if such were their audacity, the instant he appeared, that instant he would be pierced by a thousand wounds! But to what horrors would not Paris be consigned—Paris, whose heroic courage against kings posterity will admire, while it will be utterly incapable of conceiving her ignominious subjection to a handful of brigands, the scum of mankind, who rend her bosom by the convulsive movements of their ambition and their fury! Who could dwell in a city where terror and death would hold sway! And ye, industrious citizens, whose labour is all your wealth, and for whom the means of labour would be destroyed; ye, who have made such great sacrifices at the Revolution, and who would be deprived of the absolute necessities of life; ye, whose virtues, whose ardent patriotism, and whose sincerity have rendered your seduction so easy, what would become of you? What would be your resources? What hand would dry your tears and carry relief to your perishing families?

“Would you apply to those false friends, those treacherous flatterers, who would have plunged you into the abyss! Ah! shun them rather! Dread their answer! I will tell you what it would be. You would ask them for bread; they would say to you, ‘Go to the quarries, and dispute with the earth the possession of the mangled flesh of the victims whom ye have slaughtered!’ Or, ‘Do you want blood? here it is, take it—blood and carcasses. We have no other food to offer you!’ . . . Ye shudder, citizens! O my country, I call upon thee in my turn to attest the efforts that I make to save thee from this deplorable crisis!”

This extempore speech of Vergniaud produced a deep impression and general admiration in his hearers of all classes. Robespierre was thunderstruck by his earnest and persuasive eloquence. Vergniaud, however, had but shaken, not convinced, the Assembly, which wavered between the two parties. Several members were successively heard for and against the appeal to the people. Brissot, Gensonné, Petion, supported it in their turn. One speaker at length had a decisive influence on the question. This was Barrère. By his suppleness, and his cold and evasive eloquence, he was the model and oracle of the centre. He spoke at great length on the trial, reviewed it in all its bearings—those of facts, of laws, and of policy—and furnished all those weak minds who only wanted specious reasons for yielding, with motives for the condemna-

tion of the King. His arguments, weak as they were, served as a pretext for all those who wavered; and from that moment the unfortunate King was condemned. The discussion lasted till the 7th, and nobody would listen any longer to the everlasting repetition of the same facts and the same arguments. It was therefore declared to be closed without opposition; but the proposal of a fresh adjournment excited a commotion among the most violent, and ended in a decree which fixed the 14th of January for putting the questions to the vote.

That fatal day having arrived, an extraordinary concourse of spectators surrounded the Assembly and filled the tribunes. A multitude of speakers pressed forward to propose different ways of putting the questions. At length, after a long debate, the Convention comprised all the questions in the three following:—

Is Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and attempts against the general safety of the State?

Shall the judgment, whatever it may be, be referred to the sanction of the people?

What punishment shall be inflicted upon him?

The whole of the 14th was occupied in deciding upon the questions. The 15th was reserved for voting. The Assembly decided, in the first place, that each member should deliver his vote from the tribune; that he should write and sign it, and if he pleased, assign his motive for it; that members absent without cause should be censured, but that such as should come in afterwards might give their votes even after the general voting was over. At length the fatal voting on the first question commenced. Eight members were absent on account of illness, twenty upon commissions from the Assembly. Thirty-seven, assigning various motives for their votes, acknowledged Louis XVI. to be guilty, but declared themselves incompetent to pronounce sentence, and merely proposed measures of general safety against him. Lastly, six hundred and eighty-three members declared Louis XVI. guilty without explanation. The Assembly consisted of seven hundred and forty-nine members.

The president, in the name of the National Convention, declared Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and attempts against the general welfare of the State.

The voting commenced on the second question—that of the appeal to the people. Twenty-nine members were absent. Four, Lafon, Waudelaincourt, Morisson, and Lacroix, refused

to vote. Noel also declined. Eleven gave their opinion with different conditions. Two hundred and eighty-one voted for the appeal to the people. Four hundred and twenty-three rejected it. The president declared, in the name of the National Convention, that the judgment on Louis Capet should not be submitted to the ratification of the people.

The whole of the 15th was taken up by these two series of votes. The third was postponed till the sitting of the following day.

The nearer the moment approached, the greater became the agitation in Paris. At the theatres, voices favourable to Louis XVI. had been raised on occasion of the performance of the play entitled "*L'Ami des Lois*."* The commune had ordered all the playhouses to be shut up; but the executive council had revoked that measure, as a violation of the liberty of the press, in which was comprehended the liberty of the theatre. Deep consternation pervaded the prisons. A report was circulated that the atrocities of September were to be repeated there, and the prisoners and their relatives beset the deputies with supplications that they would snatch them from destruction. The Jacobins, on their part, alleged that conspiracies were hatching in all quarters to save Louis XVI. from punishment, and to restore royalty. Their anger, excited by delays and obstacles, assumed a more threatening aspect; and the two parties thus alarmed one another by supposing that each harboured sinister designs.

The sitting of the 16th drew together a still greater concourse than any that had preceded. It was the decisive sitting, for the declaration of culpability would be nothing if Louis XVI. should be condemned to mere banishment, and the object of those who desired to save him would be accomplished, since all that they could expect at the moment was to save him from the scaffold. The tribunes had been early occupied by the Jacobins, and their eyes were fixed on the bureau at which every member was to appear to deliver his vote. Great part of the day was taken up by measures of public order, in sending for the ministers, in hearing them, in obtaining an explanation from the mayor relative to the closing of the barriers, which were said to have been shut during the day. The Convention decreed that they should remain open, and that the

* "At the representation of the comedy called '*L'Ami des Lois*,' at the Français, every allusion to the King's trial was caught and received with unbounded applause. At the Vaudeville, on one of the characters in '*La Chaste Susanne*' saying to the two Elders, 'You cannot be accusers and judges at the same time,' the audience obliged the actor to repeat the passage several times."—*Clery*.

federalists at Paris should share with the Parisians the duty of the city and of all the public establishments.

As the day was advanced, it was decided that the sitting should be permanent till the voting was over. At the moment when it was about to commence, it was proposed that the Assembly should fix the number of votes by which sentence should be passed. Lehardy proposed two-thirds, as in the criminal courts. Danton, who had just arrived from Belgium, strongly opposed this motion, and required a bare majority, that is to say, one more than half. Lanjuinais exposed himself to fresh storms by insisting that, after so many violations of the forms of justice, they should at least observe that which demands two-thirds of the votes. "We vote," he exclaimed, "under the daggers and the cannon of the factions." At these words new outcries burst forth, and the Convention put an end to the debate by declaring that the form of its decrees was unique, and that according to this form they were all passed by a bare majority.

The voting began at half-past seven in the evening, and lasted all night. Some voted merely death;* others declared themselves in favour of detention, and banishment on the restoration of peace; whilst others, again, pronounced death, but with this restriction, that they should inquire whether it was not expedient to stay the execution. Mailhe† was the author of this restriction, which was designed to save Louis XVI., for in this case time was everything, and delay an acquittal. A considerable number of deputies expressed themselves in favour of this course. The voting continued amidst tumult. At this moment the interest which Louis XVI. had excited was at its height; and many members had arrived with the intention of voting in his favour; but, on the other hand, also, the rancour of his enemies had increased, and the people had been brought to identify the cause of the republic with the death of the last King, and to consider the republic as condemned, and royalty as restored, if Louis XVI. were saved.

Alarmed at the fury excited by this notion, many members were in dread of civil war, and though deeply moved by the fate of Louis XVI., they were afraid of the consequences of an acquittal. This fear was greatly augmented at sight of the

* "Many great and good men mournfully inclined to the severer side, from an opinion of its absolute necessity to annihilate a dangerous enemy, and establish an unsettled republic. Among these must be reckoned Carnot, who, when called on for his opinion, gave it in these words: 'Death, and never did word weigh so heavily on my heart!'"—*Alison*.

† See Appendix TT.

Assembly and the scene that was passing there. As each deputy ascended the steps of the bureau, silence was observed in order that he might be heard; but after he had given his vote, tokens of approbation or disapprobation immediately burst forth, and accompanied his return to his seat. The tribunes received with murmurs all votes that were not for death; and they frequently addressed threatening gestures to the Assembly itself. The deputies replied to them from the interior of the hall, and hence resulted a tumultuous exchange of menaces and abusive epithets. This fearfully ominous scene had shaken all minds, and changed many resolutions. Lecointe, of Versailles, whose courage was undoubted, and who had not ceased to respond to the gesticulation of the tribunes, advanced to the bureau, hesitated, and at length dropped from his lips the unexpected and terrible word, *Death*. Vergniaud, who had appeared deeply affected by the fate of Louis XVI., and who had declared to his friends that he never could condemn that unfortunate Prince—Vergniaud, on beholding this tumultuous scene, imagined that he saw civil war kindled in France, and pronounced sentence of death, with the addition, however, of Mailhe's amendment. On being questioned respecting his change of opinion, he replied that he thought he beheld civil war on the point of breaking out, and that he durst not balance the life of an individual against the welfare of France.

Almost all the Girondins adopted Mailhe's amendment. A deputy whose vote excited a strong sensation was the Duc d'Orleans. Reduced to the necessity of rendering himself endurable to the Jacobins, or perishing, he pronounced the death of his kinsman, and returned to his place amidst the agitation caused by his vote.* This melancholy sitting lasted the whole night of the 16th, and the whole day of the 17th till seven in the evening. The summing up of the votes was awaited with extraordinary impatience. The avenues were thronged with an immense crowd, each inquiring of his neighbour the result of the scrutiny. In the Assembly itself all was yet uncertainty; for it seemed as

* "The Duc d'Orleans, when called on to give his vote, walked with a faltering step, and a face paler than death itself, to the appointed place, and there read these words: 'Exclusively governed by my duty, and convinced that all those who have resisted the sovereignty of the people deserve death, my vote is for death!' Important as the accession of the first Prince of the blood was to the terrorist faction, his conduct in this instance was too obviously selfish and atrocious not to excite a general feeling of indignation; the agitation of the Assembly became extreme; it seemed as if by this single vote the fate of the monarch was irrevocably sealed."—*History of the Convention*.

though the words *Imprisonment* or *Banishment* had been as frequently pronounced as *Death*. According to some, there was one vote deficient for condemnation. According to others, there was a majority, but only by a single voice. On all sides it was asserted that one vote more would decide the question, and people looked around with anxiety to see if any other deputy was coming. At this moment a man came forward, who could scarcely walk, and whose head wrapped up indicated illness. This man, named Duchastel, deputy of the Deux-Sèvres, had left his bed, to which he had been confined, in order to give his vote. At this sight tumultuous shouts arose. It was alleged that the intriguers had hunted him out for the purpose of saving Louis XVI. Some wanted to question him; but the Assembly refused to allow this, and authorized him to vote, by virtue of the decision which admitted of the vote after the calling of the names. Duchastel ascended to the tribune with firmness, and amidst the general suspense, pronounced in favour of banishment.

Fresh incidents followed. The minister for foreign affairs desired permission to speak, in order to communicate a note from the Chevalier d'Ocariz, the Spanish ambassador. He offered the neutrality of Spain, and her mediation with all the powers, if Louis XVI. were suffered to live. The impatient Mountaineers pretended that this was an incident contrived for the purpose of raising fresh obstacles, and moved the order of the day. Danton suggested that war should be immediately declared against Spain. The Assembly adopted the order of the day. A new application was then announced. The defenders of Louis XVI. solicited admission for the purpose of making a communication. Fresh outcries proceeded from the Mountain. Robespierre declared that the defence was finished, that the counsel had no right to submit anything further to the Convention, that the judgment was given, and only remained to be pronounced. It was decided that the counsel should not be admitted till after the pronouncing of judgment.

Vergniaud presided. "Citizens," said he, "I am about to proclaim the result of the scrutiny. You will observe, I hope, profound silence. When justice has spoken, humanity ought to have its turn."

The Assembly was composed of seven hundred and forty-nine members; fifteen were absent on commissions, eight from illness, five had refused to vote, which reduced the number of deputies present to seven hundred and twenty-one, and the

absolute majority to three hundred and sixty-one votes. Two hundred and eighty-six had voted for detention or banishment, with different conditions. Two had voted for imprisonment; forty-six for death with reprieve, either till peace, or till the ratification of the constitution. Twenty-six had voted for death; but with Mailhe, they had desired that the Assembly should consider whether it might not be expedient to stay the execution. Their vote was nevertheless independent of the latter clause. Three hundred and sixty-one had voted for death unconditionally.

The president then, in a sorrowful tone, declared in the name of the Convention that *the punishment pronounced against Louis Capet is—Death ! **

At this moment the defenders of Louis XVI. were introduced at the bar. M. Desèze addressed the Assembly, and said that he was sent by his client to put in an appeal to the people from the sentence passed by the Convention. He founded this appeal on the small number of votes which had decided the condemnation, and maintained that, since such doubts had arisen in the minds of the deputies, it was expedient to refer the matter to the nation itself. Tronchet added, that as the penal code had been followed in respect to the severity of the punishment, they were bound to follow it also in respect to the humanity of the forms; and that the form which required two-thirds of the voices ought not to have been neglected. The venerable Malesherbes spoke in his turn. With a voice interrupted by sobs, "Citizens," said he, "I am not in the habit of public speaking. . . . I see with pain that I am refused time to muster my ideas on the manner of counting the votes. . . . I have formerly reflected much on this subject; I have many observations to communicate to you . . . but . . . Citizens . . . forgive my agitation . . . grant me time till to-morrow to arrange my ideas."

* "When M. de Malesherbes went to the Temple to announce the result of the vote, he found Louis with his forehead resting on his hands, and absorbed in a deep reverie. Without inquiring concerning his fate, he said, 'For two hours I have been considering whether during my whole reign I have voluntarily given any cause of complaint to my subjects; and with perfect sincerity I declare that I deserve no reproach at their hands, and that I have never formed a wish but for their happiness.'"—*Lacretelle*.

"Louis was fully prepared for his fate. During the calling of the votes he asked M. de Malesherbes, 'Have you not met near the Temple the White Lady?' 'What do you mean?' replied he. 'Do you not know,' resumed the King, with a smile, 'that when a prince of our house is about to die, a female dressed in white is seen wandering about the palace? My friends,' added he to his defenders, 'I am about to depart before you for the land of the just, but there at least we shall be reunited.' In fact, his Majesty's only apprehension seemed to be for his family."—*Alison*.

The Assembly was moved at the sight of the tears and the gray hair of the venerable old man. "Citizens," said Vergniaud to the three counsel, "the Convention has listened to the remonstrances which it was a sacred duty incumbent on you to make. Will you," added he, addressing the Assembly, "decree the honours of the sitting to the defenders of Louis XVI.?" "Yes, yes," was the unanimous reply.

Robespierre then spoke, and referring to the decree passed against an appeal to the people, combated the application of the counsel. Guadet proposed that, without admitting of the appeal to the people, twenty-four hours should be allowed to Malesherbes. Merlin of Douai* maintained that nothing whatever could be urged against the manner of counting the votes, for if the penal code, which was invoked, required two-thirds of the voices for the declaration of the fact, it required only a bare majority for the application of the punishment. Now, in the present case the culpability had been declared by an almost general unanimity of voices; and therefore it mattered not if only a bare majority had been obtained for the punishment.

After these different observations the Convention passed to the order of the day upon the demands of the counsel, declared the appeal of Louis to be null, and deferred the question of reprieve to the following day. Next day, the 18th, it was alleged that the enumeration of the votes was not correct, and that it should be taken anew. The whole day was passed in disputation. At length the calculation was ascertained to be correct, and the Assembly was obliged to postpone the question of reprieve till the following day.

At length, on the 19th, this last question was discussed. It was placing the whole of the proceedings in jeopardy, for to Louis XVI. delay was life itself. Thus, after exhausting all their arguments in discussing the punishment and the appeal, the Girondins and those who wished to save Louis XVI. knew not what further means to employ. They still talked of political reasons, but were told in reply, that if Louis XVI. were dead, people would arm to avenge him; that if he were alive and detained, they would arm in like manner to deliver him; and that consequently in either case the result would be the same. Barrère asserted that it was unworthy of the Assembly thus to parade a head through foreign Courts, and to stipulate the life or death of a condemned person as an article of a treaty. He added that this would be a cruelty to Louis XVI. himself, who would suffer death at every movement of the armies. The

* See Appendix UU.

Assembly, immediately closing the discussion, decided that each member should vote by *Yes* or *No*, without stirring from the spot. On the 20th of January, at three in the morning, the voting terminated, and the president declared, by a majority of three hundred and eighty voices to three hundred and ten, that the execution of Louis Capet should take place without delay.*

At this moment a letter arrived from Kersaint,† in which that deputy resigned his seat. He could no longer, he wrote to the Assembly, endure the disgrace of sitting in the same place with bloodthirsty men, when their sentiments, preceded by terror, prevailed over those of upright minds; when Marat prevailed over Petion. This letter caused an extraordinary agitation. Gensonné spoke, and took this opportunity to avenge himself on the Septembrizers for the decree of death which had just been issued. It was doing nothing, he said, to punish the misdeeds of tyranny if they did not punish other misdeeds that were still more mischievous. They had performed but half their task if they did not punish the crimes of September, and if they did not direct proceedings to be instituted against their authors. At this proposition the greater part of the Assembly rose with acclamation. Marat and Tallien opposed the movement. "If," cried they, "you punish the authors of September, punish those conspirators also who were entrenched in the palace on the 10th of August." The Assembly, complying with all these demands, immediately ordered the minister of justice to prosecute the authors of

* "The sitting of the Convention which concluded the trial lasted seventy-two hours. It might naturally be supposed that silence, restraint, a sort of religious awe, would have pervaded the scene. On the contrary, everything bore the marks of gaiety, dissipation, and the most grotesque confusion. The farther end of the hall was converted into boxes, where ladies, in a studied dishabille, swallowed ices, oranges, liqueurs, and received the salutations of the members who went and came, as on ordinary occasions. Here the doorkeepers on the Mountain side opened and shut the boxes reserved for the mistresses of the Duc d'Orleans-Egalité; and there, though every sound of approbation or disapprobation was strictly forbidden, you heard the long and indignant 'Ha, ha's!' of the mother-duchess, the patroness of the bands of female Jacobins, whenever her ears were not loudly greeted with the welcome sounds of death. The upper gallery, reserved for the people, was during the whole trial constantly full of strangers of every description drinking wine, as in a tavern. Bets were made as to the issue of the trial in all the neighbouring coffee-houses. Ennui, impatience, disgust, sat on almost every countenance. The figures passing and repassing, and rendered more ghastly by the pallid lights, and who in a slow, sepulchral voice only pronounced the word 'death'; others calculating if they should have time to go to dinner before they gave their verdict; women pricking cards with pins in order to count the votes; some of the deputies fallen asleep, and only waked up to give their sentence—all this had the appearance rather of a hideous dream than of a reality."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*.

† See Appendix VV.

the atrocities committed in the first days of September, as well as the persons found in arms in the palace during the night between the 9th and 10th of August, and the functionaries who had quitted their posts and returned to Paris to conspire with the Court.

Louis XVI. was definitely condemned. No reprieve could defer the execution of the sentence, and all the expedients devised for postponing the fatal moment were exhausted. All the members of the right side, whether secret royalists or republicans, were dismayed at that cruel sentence, and at the ascendancy just acquired by the Mountain. Profound stupor pervaded Paris. The audacity of the new government had produced the effect which force usually produces upon the mass: it had paralyzed and reduced to silence the greater number, and excited the indignation of merely a few minds of greater energy. There were still some old servants of Louis XVI., some young gentlemen, some of the life-guards, who proposed, it was said, to fly to the succour of the monarch, and to rescue him from death. But to meet, to concert together, to make arrangements, amidst the profound terror of the one party, and the active vigilance of the other, was impracticable; and all that could be done was to attempt some unconnected acts of despair. The Jacobins, delighted with their triumph, were nevertheless astonished at it. They recommended to one another to keep close together during the next twenty-four hours, to send commissioners to all the authorities, to the commune, to the staff of the national guard, to the department, and to the executive council, for the purpose of rousing their zeal, and ensuring the execution of the sentence. They asserted that this execution would take place—that it was infallible; but from the care which they took to repeat this, it was obvious that they themselves did not entirely believe what they said. The execution of a king in the bosom of a country which but three years before had been by its manners, customs, and laws, an absolute monarchy, appeared still doubtful, and was rendered credible only by the event.

The executive council was charged with the melancholy commission of carrying the sentence into execution. All the ministers were assembled in the hall where they met, and they were struck with consternation. Garat, as minister of justice, had the most painful of all tasks imposed upon him—that of acquainting Louis XVI. with the decrees of the Convention.*

* "The sentence of death was announced by Garat. No alteration took place in the King's countenance; I observed only at the word 'conspiracy' a smile of indignation appear on his lips; but at the words 'shall suffer the punishment of death,' the expression of his face when he looked on those around him, showed that death had no terrors for him."—*Clergy*.

He repaired to the Temple, accompanied by Santerre, by a deputation of the commune and of the criminal tribunal, and by the secretary of the executive council. Louis XVI. had been four days expecting his defenders, and applying in vain to see them. On the 20th of January, at two in the afternoon, he was still awaiting them, when all at once he heard the sound of a numerous party. He stepped forward, and perceived the envoys of the executive council. He stopped with dignity at the door of his apartment, apparently unmoved. Garat then told him sorrowfully that he was commissioned to communicate to him the decrees of the Convention. Grouvelle, secretary of the executive council, read them to him. The first declared Louis XVI. guilty of treason against the general safety of the State; the second condemned him to death; the third rejected any appeal to the people; and the fourth and last ordered his execution in twenty-four hours. Louis, looking calmly around upon all those who were about him, took the paper from the hand of Grouvelle, put it in his pocket, and read Garat a letter in which he demanded from the Convention three days to prepare for death, a confessor to assist him in his last moments, liberty to see his family, and permission for them to leave France. Garat took the letter, promising to submit it immediately to the Convention. The King gave him at the same time the address of the ecclesiastic whose assistance he wished to have in his last moments.

Louis XVI. went back into his room with great composure, ordered his dinner, and ate as usual. There were no knives on the table, and his attendants refused to let him have any. "Do they think me so weak," he exclaimed, "as to lay violent hands on myself? I am innocent, and I am not afraid to die." He was obliged to dispense with a knife. On finishing his repast he returned to his apartment, and calmly awaited the answer to his letter.

The Convention refused the delay, but granted all the other demands which he had made. Garat sent for Edgeworth de Firmont,* the ecclesiastic whom Louis XVI. had chosen, and took him in his own carriage to the Temple. He arrived there at six o'clock, and went to the great tower, accompanied by Santerre. He informed the King that the Convention allowed him to have a minister, and to see his family alone, but that it rejected the application for delay. Garat added that M. Edgeworth had arrived, that he was in the council-room, and should be introduced. He then retired, more astonished and

* See Appendix WW.



more touched than ever by the calm magnanimity of the Prince.

M. Edgeworth, on being ushered into the presence of the King, would have thrown himself at his feet; but Louis instantly raised him, and both shed tears of emotion. He then with eager curiosity asked various questions concerning the clergy of France, several bishops, and particularly the Archbishop of Paris, requesting him to assure the latter that he died faithfully attached to his communion. The clock having struck eight, he rose, begged M. Edgeworth to wait, and retired with emotion, saying that he was going to see his family. The municipal officers, unwilling to lose sight of the King, even while with his family, had decided that he should see them in the dining-room, which had a glass door, through which they could watch all his motions without hearing what he said. He walked anxiously to and fro, awaiting the painful moment when those who were so dear to him should appear. At half-past eight the door opened. The Queen, holding the Dauphin by the hand, Madame Elizabeth, and Madame Royale, rushed sobbing into the arms of Louis XVI. The door was closed, and the municipal officers, Clery, and M. Edgeworth placed themselves behind it to witness the agonizing interview. During the first moments it was but a scene of confusion and despair. Cries and lamentations prevented those who were on the watch from distinguishing anything. At length tears ceased to flow, the conversation became more calm, and the Princesses, still holding the King clasped in their arms, spoke to him for some time in a low tone. After a long conversation, interrupted by silence and grief, he rose to put an end to this painful meeting, and promised to see them again at eight the next morning. "Do you promise that you will?" earnestly inquired the Princesses. "Yes, yes," sorrowfully replied the King. At this moment the Queen held him by one arm, Madame Elizabeth by the other, while the Princesse Royale clasped him round the waist; and the young Prince stood before him, with one hand in that of his mother, and the other in his aunt's. At the moment of retiring, the Princesse Royale fainted; she was carried away, and the King returned to M. Edgeworth deeply depressed by this painful interview.* In a short time he rallied, and recovered all his composure.

M. Edgeworth then offered to say mass, which the King had not heard for a long time. After some difficulties, the commune assented to that ceremony, and application was made to the

* See Appendix XX.

neighbouring church for the ornaments necessary for the following morning. The King retired to rest about midnight, desiring Clery to call him before five o'clock. M. Edgeworth threw himself upon a bed; and Clery took his place near the pillow of his master, watching the peaceful slumber which he enjoyed the night before he was to ascend the scaffold.

Meanwhile a frightful scene had passed in Paris. A few ardent minds were in a ferment here and there; while the great mass, either indifferent or awe-struck, remained immovable. A life-guardsman, named Paris, had resolved to avenge the death of Louis XVI. on one of his judges. Lepelletier St. Fargeau* had, like many others of his rank, voted for death, in order to throw the veil of oblivion over his birth and fortune. He had excited the more indignation in the royalists, on account of the class to which he belonged. On the evening of the 20th he was pointed out to Paris, when he was just sitting down to table at a restaurateur's in the Palais Royal. The young man, wrapped in a great cloak, stepped up to him, and said, "Art thou Lepelletier, the villain who voted for the death of the King?" "Yes," replied the deputy, "but I am not a villain; I voted according to my conscience." "There, then," rejoined the life-guardsman, "take that for thy reward," plunging his sword into his side. Lepelletier fell, and Paris escaped before the persons present had time to secure him.

The news of this event instantly spread to all quarters. It was denounced to the Convention, the Jacobins, and the commune; and it served to give more consistency to the rumours of a conspiracy of the royalists for slaughtering the left side, and rescuing the King at the foot of the scaffold. The Jacobins declared their sitting permanent, and sent fresh commissioners to all the authorities and to all the sections, to awaken their zeal, and to induce the entire population to rise in arms.

Next morning, the 21st of January, the clock of the Temple struck five. The King awoke, called Clery, inquired the hour, and dressed with great calmness.† He congratulated himself on having recovered his strength by sleep. Clery kindled a fire, and moved a chest of drawers, out of which he formed an altar. M. Edgeworth put on his pontifical vestments, and began to celebrate mass. Clery waited on him, and the King listened, kneeling with the greatest devotion. He then received the communion from the hands of M. Edgeworth, and, after mass, rose with new vigour, and awaited with composure

* See Appendix YY.

† See Appendix ZZ.

the moment for going to the scaffold. He asked for scissors that he might cut his hair himself, and thus escape the performance of that humiliating operation by the hand of the executioner; but the commune refused to trust him with a pair.

At this moment the drums were beating in the capital. All those who belonged to the armed sections repaired to their company with complete submission. Those who were not called by any obligation to figure on that dreadful day kept close at home. Windows and doors were shut up, and every one awaited in his own habitation the melancholy event. It was reported that four or five hundred devoted men were to make a dash upon the carriage and rescue the King.* The Convention, the commune, the executive council, and the Jacobins were sitting.

At eight in the morning, Santerre, with a deputation of the commune, the department, and the criminal tribunal, repaired to the Temple. Louis XVI., on hearing the noise, rose and prepared to depart. He had declined seeing his family again, to avoid the renewal of the painful scene of the preceding evening. He desired Clery to transmit his last farewell to his wife, his sister, and his children: he gave him a sealed packet, hair, and various trinkets, with directions to deliver these articles to them.† He then clasped his hand, and

* "While they were conveying the King from the Temple to the place of execution, the train was followed by two men in arms, who went into all the coffee-houses and public places, and asked, with loud cries, if there were still any loyal subjects left who were ready to die for their King! But such was the universal terror that nobody joined them; and they both arrived without any increase of their party at the place of execution, where they slipped off in the crowd. It is also a fact that some timid people, well affected to the King, had formed an association of eighteen hundred persons, who were to cry out 'Pardon!' before the execution. But of those eighteen hundred, only one man had the courage to do his duty, and he, it is said, was instantly torn to pieces by the populace."—*Peltier*.

† "In the course of the morning the King said to me, 'You will give this seal to my son, and this ring to the Queen, and assure her that it is with pain I part with it. This little packet contains the hair of all my family; you will give her that too. Tell the Queen, my dear sister, and my children, that, although I promised to see them again this morning, I have resolved to spare them the pang of so cruel a separation. Tell them how much it costs me to go away without receiving their embraces once more!' He wiped away some tears; and then added in the most mournful accents, 'I charge you to bear them my last farewell.'"—*Clery*.

"On the morning of this terrible day the Princesses rose at six o'clock. The night before, the Queen had scarcely strength enough to put her son to bed. She threw herself, dressed as she was, upon her own bed, where she was heard shivering with cold and grief all night long! At a quarter past six the door opened: the Princesses believed they were sent for to see the King; but it was only the officers looking for a prayer-book for his mass. They did not, however, abandon the hope of seeing him, till the shouts of joy of the unprincipled populace announced to them that all was over."—*Duchesse d'Angoulême*.

thanked him for his services. After this he addressed himself to one of the municipal officers, requesting him to transmit his last will to the commune. This officer, who had formerly been a priest, and was named Jacques Roux, brutally replied that his business was to conduct him to execution, and not to perform his commissions. Another person took charge of it, and Louis, turning towards the party, gave with firmness the signal for starting.*

Officers of gendarmerie were placed on the front seat of the carriage. The King and M. Edgeworth occupied the back.† During the drive, which was rather long, the King read in M. Edgeworth's breviary the prayers for persons at the point of death; and the two gendarmes were confounded at his piety and tranquil resignation. They had orders, it was said, to despatch him if the carriage should be attacked. No hostile demonstration, however, took place from the Temple to the Place de la Révolution. An armed multitude lined the way. The vehicle advanced slowly, and amidst a universal silence. At the Place de la Révolution an extensive space had been left vacant about the scaffold. Around this space were planted cannon; the most violent of the federalists were stationed about the scaffold; and the vile rabble, always ready to insult genius, virtue, and misfortune, when a signal is given it to do so, crowded behind the ranks of the federalists, and alone manifested some outward tokens of satisfaction; whilst all else buried in the recesses of their hearts the feelings which they experienced.

At ten minutes past ten the carriage stopped. Louis XVI., rising briskly, stepped out into the Place. Three executioners‡ came up; he refused their assistance, and stripped off his clothes himself. But perceiving that they were going to bind his hands, he betrayed a movement of indignation, and seemed ready to resist. M. Edgeworth, whose every expression was then sublime, gave him a last look, and said, "Suffer this outrage, as a last resemblance to that God who is about to be your reward." At these words, the victim, resigned and submissive, suffered himself to be bound and conducted to the scaffold. All at once Louis took a hasty step, separated himself from the executioners, and advanced to address the people. "Frenchmen," said he, in a firm voice, "I die innocent of the crimes which are imputed to me; I forgive the authors of my death, and I pray that my blood may not fall upon France." He would have continued, but the drums were instantly ordered

* See Appendix AAA.

† See Appendix BBB.

‡ See Appendix CCC.



to beat: their rolling drowned the voice of the Prince; the executioners laid hold of him, and M. Edgeworth took his leave in these memorable words: "Son of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven!"* As soon as the blood flowed, furious wretches dipped their pikes and their handkerchiefs in it,† spread themselves throughout Paris, shouting *Vive la République! Vive la Nation!* and even went to the gates of the Temple to display that brutal and factious joy which the rabble manifests at the birth, the accession, and the fall of all princes.‡

* "The Abbé Edgeworth has been asked if he recollected to have made this exclamation. He replied, that he could neither deny nor affirm that he had spoken the words. It was possible, he added, that he might have pronounced them without afterwards recollecting the fact, for that he retained no memory of anything which happened relative to himself at that awful moment. His not recollecting or recording the words is perhaps the best proof that they were spoken from the impulse of the moment."—*Memoirs of the Abbé Edgeworth.*

† "One person actually tasted the blood, with a brutal exclamation that it was 'shockingly bitter;' and the hair and pieces of the dress were sold by the attendants. No strong emotion was evinced at the moment; the place was like a fair; but a few days after, Paris, and those who had voted for the death of the monarch, began to feel serious and uneasy at what they had done."

‡ See Appendix DDD.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION—*continued.*

THE death of the unfortunate Louis XVI. had excited profound terror in France, and in Europe a mingled feeling of astonishment and indignation. As the most clear-sighted Revolutionists had foreseen, the mortal conflict had now begun, and all retreat was irrevocably cut off. They must therefore combat the coalition of the thrones and conquer it, or perish under its blows. Accordingly it was said in the Assembly, at the Jacobins, in short, everywhere, that it behoved them to devote their whole attention to external defence; and from that moment questions of war and finance were constantly the order of the day.

We have seen with what dread each of the two domestic parties inspired the other. The Jacobins regarded the resistance opposed to the condemnation of Louis XVI., and the horror excited in many departments by the excesses committed since the 10th of August, as a dangerous relic of royalism. They had therefore doubted their victory till the very last moment; but the easy execution of the 21st of January had at length given them fresh confidence. They had since begun to conceive that the cause of the Revolution might be saved; and they prepared addresses to enlighten the departments, and to complete their conversion. The Girondins, on the contrary, already touched by the fate of the victim, and alarmed besides at the victory of their adversaries,* began to discover in the event of the 21st of January the prelude to long and sanguinary atrocities, and the first act of the inexorable system which they were combating. The prosecution of the authors of September had, it is true, been granted to them; but this was a concession without result. In abandoning Louis XVI. they meant to prove that they were not royalists; and by giving up the Septembrizers to them their

* "The Mountaineers, by the catastrophe of the 21st of January, had obtained a great victory over the Girondins, who had a system of politics far more rigid than their own, and who wished to save the Revolution without staining it with blood. Hence they were accused of being enemies to the people, because they raised their voice against their excesses; and with betraying the republic, because they recommended moderation."—*Mignet*.

opponents meant to prove that they were not protectors of crime; but this twofold proof had not satisfied or cheered anybody. They were still considered as first republicans and almost royalists, and they still viewed their adversaries as foes athirst for blood and carnage. Roland, utterly discouraged, not by the danger, but by the manifest impossibility to be serviceable, resigned on the 23rd of January. The Jacobins rejoiced at this circumstance; but they immediately cried out that the traitors Clavières and Lebrun, whom the intriguing Brissot had made his tools, were still in the administration; that the evil was not wholly remedied; that they ought not to relax, but, on the contrary, to redouble their zeal, till they had removed from the government the intriguers, the Girondins, the Rolandins, the Brissotins, &c. The Girondins immediately demanded the reorganization of the ministry of war, which Pache, from his weakness towards the Jacobins, had brought into the most deplorable state.

Thus the two leaders who divided the administration between them, and whose names had become the two opposite rallying-points, were excluded from the government. The majority of the Convention imagined that in this they had done something in favour of peace; as if, in suppressing the names which the passions made use of, those passions themselves were not left to find new names and to continue the conflict. Beurnonville, the friend of Dumouriez, surnamed the French Ajax, was called to the war department. He was as yet known to the parties by his bravery alone; but his attachment to discipline was soon to bring him into opposition with the unruly spirit of the Jacobins. After these measures, questions of finance, which were of the utmost importance at this critical moment, when the Revolution had to combat all Europe, were placed upon the order of the day. At the same time it was decided that in a fortnight at the latest the committee of the constitution should present its report, and that immediately afterwards the subject of public instruction should be taken up.

A great number of people, not comprehending the cause of the revolutionary disturbances, imagined that all the calamities of the State were occasioned by defective laws, and that the constitution would put an end to all these disorders. Accordingly a great part of the Girondins and all the members of the Plain kept incessantly demanding the constitution, and complaining that it was delayed, saying that their mission was to complete it. They really believed so; they all imagined that they had been deputed for this object alone, and that it was a business which might be performed in a few months.

They were not yet aware that fate had called them not to constitute, but to fight; that their terrible mission was to defend the Revolution against Europe and La Vendée; that very soon they were to change from a deliberative body, which they were, to a sanguinary dictatorship, which should at one and the same time proscribe internal enemies, battle with Europe and the revolted provinces, and defend itself on all sides by violence; that their laws, transient as a crisis, would be considered as merely fits of anger; and that the only part of their work destined to subsist was the glory of the defence, the sole and terrible mission which they had received from fate; neither did they yet perceive that this ought to be the only one.

However, whether from the lassitude of a long struggle, or from the unanimity of opinions on questions of war, all agreed upon the point of defending themselves, and even of provoking the enemy. A sort of calm succeeded the terrible agitation produced by the trial of Louis XVI.; and Brissot was still applauded for his diplomatic reports against the foreign powers.

Such was the internal situation of France, and the state of the parties which divided it. Its situation in regard to Europe was alarming. It was a general rupture with all the powers. France had hitherto had but three enemies—Piedmont, Austria, and Prussia. The Revolution, everywhere approved by the people according to the degree of their enlightenment, everywhere hateful to the governments according to the degree of their apprehensions, had nevertheless produced perfectly new impressions on the world by the terrible events of the 10th of August, the 2nd and 3rd of September, and the 21st of January. Less disdained since it had so energetically defended itself, but less esteemed since it had sullied itself by crime, it had not ceased to excite as deep an interest in the people, and to be treated with as much scorn by the governments.

The war therefore was about to become general. We have seen Austria suffering herself to be involved by family connections in a war by no means serviceable to her interests. We have seen Prussia, whose natural interest it was to ally herself with France against the head of the empire, marching for the most frivolous reasons beyond the Rhine, and compromising her armies in the Argonne. We have seen Catherine,* formerly a philosopher, deserting, like all the

* See Appendix EEE.

courtiers, the cause which she had at first espoused from vanity; persecuting the Revolution at once from fashion and from policy: exciting Gustavus, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia, to divert their attention from Poland, and to engage them with the West. We have seen Piedmont attacking France contrary to her interests, but for reasons of relationship and hatred of the Revolution. We have seen the petty Courts of Italy detesting our new republic, but not daring to attack, nay, even acknowledging it at sight of our flag; Switzerland preserving a strict neutrality; Holland and the Germanic Diet not yet speaking out, but betraying a deep grudge; Spain observing a prudent neutrality under the influence of the wise Count d'Aranda; lastly, England suffering France to tear herself to pieces, the continent to exhaust itself, the colonies to lay themselves waste, and thus leaving the execution of her vengeance to the inevitable disorders of revolutions.

The new revolutionary impetuosity was about to disconcert all these calculated neutralities. Thus far Pitt had shown sound judgment in the line of conduct which he adopted. In his country a half-and-half revolution, which had but in part regenerated the social state, had left a number of feudal institutions standing, which could not but be objects of attachment to the aristocracy and the Court, and objects of censure with the Opposition. Pitt had a double aim: in the first place, to moderate the aristocratic hatred, to repress the spirit of reform, and thus to secure his administration by controlling both parties; secondly, to crush France beneath her own disasters and the hatred which all the governments of Europe bore against her. He wished, in short, to make his country mistress of the world, and to be master of his country. Such was the twofold object which he pursued with the vanity and the strength of mind of a great statesman. Neutrality was wonderfully favourable to his projects. While preventing war, he repressed the blind hatred of his Court for liberty; while leaving the excesses of the French Revolution to develop themselves without impediment, he daily made cutting replies to the apologists of that Revolution—replies which prove nothing, but which produce a certain effect. He answered Fox, the most eloquent speaker of the Opposition and of England, by reciting the crimes of reformed France. Burke,* a vehement orator, was employed to enumerate those crimes, and he did it with an absurd violence. One day he

* See Appendix FFF.

even went so far as to throw upon the table a dagger which, he said, was manufactured by the Jacobin propagandists. While in Paris Pitt was accused of paying emissaries to excite disturbances; in London he accused the French Revolutionists of spending money to excite revolutions, and our emigrants accredited these rumours by repeating them. While by this Machiavellian logic he counteracted the spells which French liberty would have thrown over the English, he excited Europe against us, and his envoys disposed all the powers to war. In Switzerland he had not succeeded; but at the Hague, the docile Stadtholder, tried by a first revolution, still distrustful of his people, and having no other support than the English fleets, had given him a sort of satisfaction, and had by many hostile demonstrations testified his ill-will to France.

It was in Spain more particularly that Pitt set intrigues at work, to urge her to the greatest blunder she ever committed—that of joining England against France, her only maritime ally. The Spaniards had been little moved by our Revolution; and it was not so much reasons of safety and policy, as reasons of kindred, repugnances common to all governments, that indisposed the Cabinet of Madrid towards the French republic. The prudent Count d'Aranda, resisting the intrigues of the emigrants, the spleen of the aristocracy, and the suggestions of Pitt, had studiously forborne to wound the susceptibility of our new government. Overthrown, however, at length, and replaced by Don Manuel Godoy, afterwards Prince of the Peace,* he left his unhappy country a prey to the worst counsels. Till then the Cabinet of Madrid had refused to speak out in regard to France. At the moment of the definitive judgment of Louis XVI. it had offered the political acknowledgment of the French republic, and its mediation with all the powers, if the dethroned monarch were suffered to live. The only answer to this offer was a proposal of war by Danton, and the Assembly adopted the order of the day. Ever since that time the disposition to war had not been doubtful. Catalonia was filling with troops. In all the ports armaments were in active progress, and a speedy attack was resolved upon. Pitt triumphed, therefore, and without yet declaring himself, without committing himself too hastily, he gained time to raise his navy to a formidable state, he gratified the British aristocracy by his preparations, he rendered our Revolution unpopular by declamations which he paid for; and while he thus streng-

* See Appendix GGG.

thened himself in silence, he prepared for us an overwhelming league, which, by employing all our forces, prevented us from succouring our colonies, or checking the progress of the British power in India.

Never at any period had Europe, seized with such blindness, been known to commit so many faults against herself. In the West, Spain, Holland, all the maritime powers, were seen, misled by the aristocratic passions, arming with their enemy, England, against France, their only ally. Prussia again was seen, from an inconceivable vanity, uniting with the head of the empire against France, an alliance with which had always been recommended by the great Frederick. The petty King of Sardinia committed the same fault, from more natural motives indeed—those of relationship. In the East and North, Catherine was allowed to perpetrate a crime upon Poland, an attempt against the safety of Germany, for the frivolous advantage of gaining a few provinces, and to enable herself still to tear France to pieces without hindrance. Renouncing, therefore, at once all old and useful friendships, the nations yielded to the perfidious suggestions of the two most formidable powers, to arm against our unfortunate country, the ancient protectress or ally of those which now attacked her. All contributed to this, all lent themselves to the views of Pitt and Catherine; imprudent Frenchmen traversed Europe to hasten this fatal overthrow of policy and prudence, and to draw down upon their native land the most tremendous storms. And what could be the motives for pursuing such a strange course? Poland was delivered up to Catherine, France to Pitt, because the one was desirous of regulating her ancient liberty, and the other had resolved to give to herself that liberty which she had not yet possessed. France had, it is true, committed excesses; but these excesses were about to be increased by the violence of the struggle; and without destroying that detested liberty, the allies were about to prepare a thirty years' war of the most sanguinary kind, to provoke vast invasions, to call a conqueror into existence, to produce immense disorders, and to conclude by the establishment of the two colossal powers which now control Europe on the two elements—England and Russia.

Amidst this general conspiracy, Denmark alone, under the guidance of an able minister, and Sweden, delivered from the presumptuous dreams of Gustavus, maintained a wise reserve, which Holland and Spain ought to have imitated by joining the system of armed neutrality. The French government had justly appreciated these general dispositions, and the impatience

which characterized it at this moment would not allow it to wait for the declarations of war, but urged it, on the contrary, to provoke them. Ever since the 10th of August it had not ceased demanding to be acknowledged; but it had still shown some moderation in regard to England, whose neutrality was valuable on account of the enemies which it had to combat. But after the 21st of January it had set aside all considerations, and determined upon a universal war. Seeing that secret hostilities were not less dangerous than open hostilities, it was impatient to compel its enemies to declare themselves; accordingly, on the 22nd of January, the National Convention took a review of all the Cabinets, ordered reports relative to the conduct of each in regard to France, and prepared to declare war against them if they did not forthwith explain themselves in a categorical manner.

Ever since the 10th of August England had withdrawn her ambassador from Paris, and had suffered M. de Chauvelin,* the French ambassador in London, to remain only in the character of the envoy of dethroned royalty. All these diplomatic subtleties had no other aim than to satisfy etiquette in regard to the King confined in the Temple, and at the same time to defer hostilities which it was not yet convenient to commence. Meanwhile Pitt, to cloak his real intentions, applied for a secret envoy to whom he might communicate his complaints against the French government. Citizen Maret† was sent in the month of December. He had an interview with Pitt. After mutual protestations, for the purpose of declaring that the interview had no official character, that it was purely amicable, and that it had no other motive than to enlighten the two nations on the subject of their reciprocal grievances, Pitt complained that France threatened the allies of England, that she even attacked their interests, and cited Holland as a proof. The principal grievance alleged was the opening of the Scheldt, perhaps an imprudent but yet a generous measure which the French had taken on entering the Netherlands. It was absurd, in fact, that in order to secure to the Dutch the monopoly of the navigation, the Netherlands, through which the Scheldt runs, should not be allowed to make use of that river. Austria had not dared to abolish this servitude; but Dumouriez had done so by order of his government; and the inhabitants of Antwerp had with joy beheld ships ascend the Scheldt to their city. The answer was noble and easy, for France, in respecting the rights of neutral neighbours, had not

* See Appendix HIII.

† See Appendix III.

promised to sanction political iniquities because neutrals were interested in them. Besides, the Dutch government had manifested so much ill-will as not to deserve to be treated with such tenderness. The second grievance adduced was the decree of the 15th of November, by which the National Convention promised assistance to all those nations which should shake off the yoke of tyranny. This perhaps imprudent decree, passed in a moment of enthusiasm, was not to be construed, as Pitt asserted, into an invitation to all nations to rebel; but signified, that in all the countries at war with the Revolution, aid would be afforded to the people against their governments. Lastly, Pitt complained of the continual threats and declamations of the Jacobins against all governments. In this respect the governments were not behindhand with the Jacobins; and on the score of vituperation, neither side was in debt to the other.

This interview led to nothing, and only showed that England merely sought to delay the war, which she had no doubt determined upon, but which it did not yet suit her to declare. The celebrated trial in January served, however, to accelerate events: the English Parliament was suddenly called together before its usual time. An inquisitorial law was enacted against the French travelling in England; the Tower of London was armed; the militia was ordered out; preparations and proclamations announced an impending war. Pains were taken to excite the populace of London, and to kindle that blind passion which in England causes war with France to be considered as a great national service. Lastly, vessels laden with corn and bound to our ports were stopped; and on the news of the 21st of January the French ambassador, whom the British government had till then in some sort refused to recognize, was enjoined to leave the kingdom in a week. The National Convention immediately ordered a report on the conduct of the English government towards France, and on its communications with the Stadtholder of the United Provinces; and upon the 1st of February, after a speech by Brissot, who for a moment earned the applause of both parties, it solemnly declared war against Holland and England. War with the Spanish government was imminent, and though not yet declared, it was considered as such. Thus France had all Europe for her foe; and the condemnation of the 21st of January had been the act by which she had broken with all thrones, and pledged herself irrevocably to the career of revolution.

It was requisite to oppose the terrible assault of so many combined powers; and rich as France was in population and

matériel, it was difficult for her to withstand the universal effort that was directed against her. Her chiefs were not on that account the less filled with confidence and audacity. The unexpected successes of the republic in the Argonne and in Belgium had persuaded them that every man, and especially the Frenchman, may become a soldier in six months. The movement which agitated France convinced them, moreover, that her whole population might be transferred to the field of battle; that thus they might have three or four millions of men capable of being converted into soldiers, and surpass in this respect all that the combined sovereigns of Europe were able to do. Look, said they, at all the kingdoms! You see a small number of men raised with difficulty to fill up the skeletons of the armies; the entire population has nothing to do with them; so that a handful of men, trained and formed into regiments, decide the fate of the mightiest empires. But suppose, on the contrary, a whole nation torn from private life, and arming for its defence, must it not overthrow all ordinary calculations? What is there impossible *for twenty-five millions of men to execute?* As for the expense, they felt as little concern on that subject. The capital of the national property was daily increasing in consequence of emigration, and far exceeded the debt. At the moment this capital was not available for want of purchasers; but the assignats supplied their place, and their factitious value made amends for the deferred value of the property which they represented. They were indeed reduced to one-third of their nominal value; but it was only adding one-third to the circulation, and this capital was so vast that it more than sufficed for the excess which it was necessary to issue. After all, those men who were about to be transferred to the field of battle lived well at their own homes, many of them even in luxury; why should they not live in the field? Could men lack soil and food wherever they might happen to be? Besides, social order, such as it was, possessed more wealth than was requisite to supply the necessities of all. It was only a better distribution that was wanted; and to this end it was right to tax the rich, and to make them bear the expense of the war. Moreover, the States into which they were about to penetrate had also an ancient social order to overturn, and abuses to destroy; they had immense profits to extract from the clergy, the nobility, royalty, and it was fit that they should pay France for the aid which she would furnish them.

Thus argued the ardent imagination of Cambon, and such ideas seized all heads. The old politics of Cabinets had

formerly calculated upon one or two hundred thousand soldiers, paid with the produce of certain taxes or the revenues of certain domains. Now it was a mass of men, rising of itself, and saying, *I will compose armies*; looking at the sum total of wealth, and again saying, *That sum is sufficient, and shared among all, it will suffice for the wants of all*. It was not, it is true, the entire nation that spoke in this manner; but it was the most enthusiastic portion that formed these resolutions, and prepared by all possible means to impose them on the mass of the nation.

Before we exhibit the distribution of the resources devised by the French Revolutionists, we must turn to our frontiers and see how the last campaign terminated. Its outset had been brilliant; but a first success, badly supported, had served only to extend our line of operations, and to provoke a more vigorous and decisive effort on the part of the enemy. Thus our defence had become more difficult, because it was more extended. The beaten enemy was about to react with energy, and his redoubled effort was to be concurrent with an almost general disorganization of our armies. Add to this that the number of the coalesced powers was doubled; for the English on our coasts, the Spaniards on the Pyrenees, and the Dutch in the north of the Netherlands, threatened us with new attacks.

Dumouriez had stopped short on the banks of the Meuse, and had not been able to push forward to the Rhine, for reasons which have not been sufficiently appreciated, because people have not been able to account for the tardiness which succeeded his first rapidity. On his arrival at Liege the disorganization of his army was complete. The soldiers were almost naked; for want of shoes they wrapped hay round their feet; meat and bread were all that they had in any abundance, thanks to a contract which Dumouriez had authoritatively maintained. But they were utterly destitute of ready money, and plundered the peasants, or fought with them to oblige them to take assignats. The horses died for want of forage, and those of the artillery had almost all perished. Privations and the suspension of military operations disgusted the soldiers; all the volunteers quitted in bands, on the strength of a decree declaring that the country had ceased to be in danger. The Convention had been obliged to pass another decree to prevent the desertion; and the gendarmerie stationed on the highroads was scarcely able, strict as it was, to stop the fugitives. The army was reduced by one-third.

These combined causes had not allowed the Austrians to be pursued so briskly as they ought to have been. Clairfayt had had time to entrench himself on the banks of the Erft, and Beaulieu towards Luxembourg; and it was impossible for Dumouriez, with an army dwindled to thirty or forty thousand men, to drive before him an enemy entrenched in the mountains and woods, and supported upon Luxembourg, one of the strongest fortresses in the world. If, as it was constantly repeated, Custine, instead of making incursions into Germany, had made a dash upon Coblentz, if he had joined Beurnonville, for the purpose of taking Trèves, and if both had then descended the Rhine, Dumouriez also might have advanced to it by Cologne. All three would thus have supported one another; Luxembourg might have been invested, and have fallen for want of communications. But nothing of the sort had taken place. Custine had been desirous of drawing the war to his quarter, and had done no more than uselessly provoke a declaration of the imperial Diet, irritate the vanity of the King of Prussia, and bind him further to the coalition. Beurnonville, left single-handed, had not been able to reduce Trèves; and the enemy had maintained his ground both in the electorate of Trèves and in the duchy of Luxembourg. Dumouriez, in advancing towards the Rhine, would have exposed his right flank and his rear, and besides, he would not have been able, in the state in which his army was, to reduce the immense tract extending from the Meuse to the Rhine and the frontiers of Holland, a difficult country, without means of transport, intersected by woods and mountains, and occupied by a still formidable enemy. Assuredly, Dumouriez, had he possessed the means, would much rather have made conquests on the Rhine, than have gone to Paris to make solicitations in behalf of Louis XVI. The zeal for royalty which he afterwards professed while in London, in order to give himself consequence, and which the Jacobins imputed to him in Paris, in order to ruin him, was certainly not strong enough to induce him to renounce victories, and to go and compromise himself among the factions of the capital. He quitted the field of battle solely because he could do no more there, and because he wished by his presence with the government to put an end to the difficulties which had been raised up against him in Belgium.

We have already witnessed the difficulties amidst which his conquest placed him. The conquered country desired a revolution, but not a complete and radical one, like the Revolution of France. Dumouriez, from inclination, from policy, and

from reasons of military prudence, could do nothing but pronounce in favour of the moderate wishes of the country which he occupied. We have already seen him struggling to spare the Belgians the inconveniences of war, to give them a share in the profits of supplies, and lastly, to smuggle rather than force assignats into circulation among them. The invectives of the Jacobins paid him for these pains. Cambon had prepared another mortification for Dumouriez, by causing the Assembly to pass the decree of the 15th of December. "We must," said Cambon, amidst the loudest applause, "declare ourselves a *revolutionary power* in the countries which we enter. It is useless to hide ourselves. The despots know what we mean. Since it is guessed, let us boldly proclaim it, and let, moreover, the justice of it be avowed. Wherever our generals enter, let them proclaim the sovereignty of the people, the abolition of feudalism, of tithes, of all abuses; let all the old authorities be dissolved; let new local administrations be provisionally formed under the direction of our generals; let these administrations govern the country, and devise the means of forming national conventions, which shall decide its lot; let the property of our enemies, that is to say, the property of the nobles, the priests, the communities, lay or religious, of the churches, &c., be immediately sequestered and placed under the safeguard of the French nation, which shall be accountable for it to the local administrations, in order that it may serve as a pledge for the expenses of the war, of which the delivered countries ought to pay their share, because the object of the war is to set them at liberty. Let the account be balanced after the campaign. If the republic has received in supplies more than the portion of the expense due to it shall amount to, it shall pay the surplus; if otherwise, the balance shall be paid to it. Let our assignats, founded on the new distribution of property, be received in the conquered countries, and let their field extend with the principles which have produced them. Lastly, let the executive power send commissioners to make friendly arrangements with these provisional administrations, to fraternize with them, to keep the accounts of the republic, and to execute the decree of sequestration. No half revolution!" added Cambon. "Every nation that will not go the length which we here propose shall be our enemy, and shall deserve to be treated as such. Peace and fraternity to all the friends of liberty! War to the base partisans of despotism! *War to the mansions—peace to the cottages!*"*

* " 'War to the mansions—peace to the cottages,' was the principle of the French Revolution. Its proclamation necessarily set the two classes of society

These sentiments had been immediately sanctioned by a decree, and carried into execution in all the conquered provinces. A host of agents, selected by the executive power from among the Jacobins, immediately spread themselves over Belgium. The provisional administrations had been formed under their influence, and they impelled them to the excesses of the wildest democracy. The populace, excited by them against the middle classes, committed the greatest outrages. The anarchy of 1793, to which we had been progressively led by four years of commotion, was produced there abruptly, and without any transition from the old to the new order of things. These proconsuls, invested with almost absolute power, caused persons and property to be imprisoned and sequestered; they stripped the churches of all their plate. This soured the minds of the unfortunate Belgians, who were strongly attached to their religious worship, and above all, furnished occasion for many peculations. They caused conventions to be formed to decide the fate of each province, and under their despotic influence the incorporation with France was voted at Liege, Brussels, Mons, and other places. These were inevitable evils, and so much the greater, as revolutionary violence combined with military brutality to produce them. Dissensions of a different kind had also broken out in this unhappy country. The agents of the executive power claimed obedience to their orders from the generals who were within the limits of their district; and if these generals were not Jacobins, as it was frequently the case, this was a new occasion for quarrels and wrangling, which contributed to augment the general disorder. Dumouriez, indignant at seeing his conquests compromised, as well by the disorganization of his army as by the hatred excited in the Belgians, had already harshly treated some of the proconsuls, and had repaired to Paris to express his indignation, with all the vivacity of his character, and all the independence of a victorious general who deemed himself necessary to the republic.

Such was our situation on this principal theatre of the war. Custine, having fallen back to Mayence, declaimed there on the manner in which Beurnonville had executed the attempt on Trèves. At the Alps, Kellermann maintained his positions at Chambery and Nice. Servan strove in vain to compose an army at the Pyrenees; and Monge, as weak towards the Jacobins

throughout Europe at variance with each other; and instead of the ancient rivalry of kings, introduced the fiercer strife of the people. The contest henceforth raged not only between nation and nation, but between interest and interest; and the strife of opinion superseded that of glory."—*Alison*.

as Pache had shown himself, had suffered the administration of the marine to be disorganized. It was necessary, therefore, to direct the whole public attention to the defence of the frontiers. Dumouriez had passed the end of December and the month of January in Paris, where he had compromised himself by certain expressions in favour of Louis XVI.; by his absence from the Jacobins, where he was continually announced, but where he never appeared; and lastly, by his intercourse with his old friend Gensonné. He had drawn up four memorials: one on the decree of the 15th of December, another on the organization of the army, a third on the supplies, and the last on the plan of campaign for the year that was commencing. To each of these memorials he subjoined his resignation in case of the rejection of what he proposed.

The Assembly had, in addition to its diplomatic committee and its military committee, appointed a third extraordinary committee, called the committee of general defence, authorized to direct its attention to everything that concerned the defence of France. It was very numerous, and even all the members of the Assembly might, if they pleased, attend its sittings. The object with which it had been formed was to conciliate the members of the opposite parties, and to make them easy in regard to each other's intentions by causing them to labour together for the general welfare. Robespierre, irritated at seeing Girondins there, rarely attended: the Girondins, on the contrary, were very assiduous. Dumouriez introduced himself with his plans, was not always understood, frequently displeased by the high tone which he assumed, and left his memorials to their fate. He then retired to some distance from Paris, by no means disposed to resign his command, though he had held out that threat to the Convention, and awaited the moment for opening the campaign.

He had entirely lost his popularity with the Jacobins, and was daily traduced in Marat's papers for having supported the half-and-half revolution in Belgium, and there shown great severity against the demagogues. He was accused of having wilfully suffered the Austrians to escape from Belgium; and going back still farther, his enemies publicly asserted that he had opened the outlets of the Argonne to Frederick William, whom he might have destroyed. The members of the council and of the committees, who did not give themselves up so blindly to the passions which swayed the rabble, were still sensible of his utility, and still courteous to him. Robespierre even defended him by throwing the blame of all these faults upon his pretended friends the Girondins. Thus people agreed

in giving him all possible satisfaction, without derogating, however, from the decrees that had been passed, and the rigorous principles of the Revolution. His two commissaries, Malus and Petit Jean, were restored, and numerous reinforcements were granted to him; he was promised sufficient supplies; his ideas for the general plan of the campaign were adopted; but no concession was made as to the decree of the 15th of December, and the new appointments in the army. The nomination of his friend Beurnonville to the war department was a new advantage for him, and he had reason to hope for the greatest zeal on the part of the administration to furnish him with everything of which he stood in need.

For a moment he had imagined that England would take him for mediator between herself and France, and he had set out for Antwerp with this flattering notion. But the Convention, weary of the perfidies of Pitt, had, as we have seen, declared war against Holland and England. This declaration found him at Antwerp. The resolutions adopted in part from his plans for the defence of the territory were these. It was agreed to increase the armies to 502,000 men, and this number was small according to the idea that had been formed of the power of France, and in comparison with the force to which they were subsequently raised. It was determined to keep the defensive on the East and South, to remain in observation along the Pyrenees and the coasts, and to display all the boldness of the offensive in the North, where, as Dumouriez had said, "there was no defending oneself but by battles." To execute this plan, 150,000 men were to occupy Belgium, and to cover the frontier from Dunkirk to the Meuse; 50,000 were to keep the space comprised between the Meuse and the Sarre; 150,000 to extend themselves along the Rhine and the Vosges, from Mayence to Besançon and Gex. Lastly, a reserve was prepared at Châlons, with the requisite *matériel*, ready to proceed to any quarter where it might be wanted. Savoy and Nice were to be guarded by two armies of 70,000 men each; the Pyrenees, by one of 40,000; the coasts of the ocean and of Bretagne were to be watched by an army of 46,000, part of which was destined for embarkation if it were necessary. Of these 502,000 men, 50,000 were cavalry, and 20,000 artillery. Such was the projected force; but the effective was far inferior, consisting of only 270,000 men, 100,000 of whom were in different parts of Belgium, 25,000 on the Moselle, 45,000 at Mayence, under Custine, 30,000 on the Upper Rhine, 40,000 in Savoy and at Nice, and 30,000 at most in the interior. But to complete the number required, the Assembly decreed that the

armies should be recruited from the national guards; and that every member of that guard, unmarried, or, if married, without children, or a widower without children, from the age of eighteen to forty-five, was at the disposal of the executive power. It added that 300,000 more men were necessary to resist the coalition, and that the recruiting should not cease till that number was raised.* It decreed at the same time the issue of eight hundred millions of assignats, and the felling of timber in Corsica for the use of the navy.

While these plans were in progress, the campaign was opened with 270,000 men. Dumouriez had 30,000 on the Scheldt, and about 70,000 on the Meuse. A rapid invasion of Holland was a bold project, which agitated all heads, and into which Dumouriez was forcibly drawn by public opinion. Several plans had been proposed. One, devised by the Batavian refugees who had quitted their country after the Revolution of 1787, consisted in overrunning Zealand with a few thousand men, and seizing the government, which would retire thither. Dumouriez had affected to approve this plan; but he deemed it sterile, because it was confined to the occupation of an inconsiderable and withal an unimportant portion of Holland. The second was his own, and consisted in descending the Meuse, by Venloo to Grave, turning off from Grave to Nimeguen, and then making a dash upon Amsterdam. This plan would have been the safest had it been possible to foresee what was to happen. But placed at Antwerp, Dumouriez conceived a third, bolder, more prompt, more suitable to the revolutionary imagination, and more fertile in decisive results if it succeeded. While his lieutenants, Miranda, Valence,† Dampierre, and others, should descend the Meuse, and occupy Maestricht, of which he did not care to make himself master in the preceding year, and Venloo, which was incapable of a long resistance, Dumouriez proposed to take with him 25,000 men, to proceed stealthily between Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, to reach in this manner the Moerdyk, to cross the little sea of Bielbos, and to run by the mouths of the rivers to Leyden and Amsterdam. This bold plan was quite as well grounded as many others which have succeeded; and if it was hazardous, it promised much greater advantages than that of a direct attack by Venloo and Nimeguen. By pursuing the latter course, Dumouriez would attack the Dutch, who had already made all their preparations between Grave and Gorcum, in front, and he would even give

* Decree of February the 24th.

† See Appendix JJJ.

them time to receive English and Prussian reinforcements. On the contrary, in advancing by the mouths of the rivers, he would penetrate by the interior of Holland, which was utterly defenceless, and if he could surmount the obstacle of the waters, Holland would be his. In returning from Amsterdam, he would take the defences in rear, and sweep off everything between himself and his lieutenants, who were to join him by Nimeguen and Utrecht.

It was natural that he should take the command of the army of expedition, because it was this service that required the greatest promptitude, boldness, and ability. This project was attended with the same danger as all plans of offensive warfare, that of exposing one's own country to the risk of invasion by leaving it uncovered. Thus the Meuse would be left open to the Austrians; but in the case of a reciprocal offensive, the advantage remains with him who the most firmly resists the danger, and gives way the least readily to the terror of invasion.

Dumouriez despatched to the Meuse, Thouvenot, in whom he had the utmost confidence; he communicated to his lieutenants Valence and Miranda the plans which he had hitherto concealed from them; he recommended to them to hasten the sieges of Maestricht and Venloo, and in case of delay to succeed one another before those places, so as to be still making progress towards Nimeguen. He also enjoined them to fix rallying points around Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpose of collecting scattered detachments, and of enabling themselves to make head against the enemy, if he should come in force to interrupt the sieges which were to be carried on upon the Meuse.

Dumouriez immediately quitted Antwerp with eighteen thousand men assembled in haste. He divided his little army into several corps, which were to summon the different fortresses, but without stopping to lay siege to them. His advanced guard was to dash on and secure the boats and the means of transport; while himself, with the main body of the troops, would keep within such a distance as to be able to afford succour to any of his lieutenants who might need it. On the 17th of February 1793 he entered the Dutch territory, and issued a proclamation promising friendship to the Batavians, and war only to the Stadtholder and the English influence. He advanced, leaving General Leclerc before Bergen-op-Zoom, directing General Bergeron upon Klundert and Willemstadt, and ordering the excellent engineer d'Arçon to feign an attack upon the important fortress of Breda. Dumouriez was with

the rearguard at Sevenberghe. On the 25th General Bergeron made himself master of the fort of Klundert, and proceeded before Willemstadt. General d'Arçon threw a few bombs into Breda. That place was reputed to be very strong; the garrison was sufficient, but badly officered, and in a few hours it surrendered to an army of besiegers which was scarcely more numerous than itself. The French entered Breda on the 27th, and found there a considerable *matériel*, consisting of two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, three hundred thousand pounds of powder, and five thousand muskets. Having left a garrison in Breda, General d'Arçon proceeded on the 1st of March before Gertruydenburg, another very strong place, and on the same day made himself master of all the advanced works. Dumouriez had pushed on to the Moerdyk, and was making amends for the tardiness of his advanced guard.

This series of successful surprises of fortresses capable of long resistance threw great lustre upon the opening of this campaign; but unforeseen obstacles delayed the crossing of the arm of the sea, the most difficult part of this plan. Dumouriez had at first hoped that his advanced guard, acting more promptly, would have seized some boats, quietly crossed the Bielbos, occupied the isle of Dort, guarded by a few hundred men at the utmost, and securing a numerous flotilla, would have brought it back to the other side to carry over the army. Inevitable delays prevented the execution of this part of the plan. Dumouriez strove to make amends for them by seizing all the craft that he could find, and collecting carpenters for the purpose of forming a flotilla. It was requisite, however, to use the utmost despatch, for the Dutch army was assembling at Goreum, at the Stry, and in the isle of Dort; a few of the enemy's sloops and an English frigate threatened his embarkation and cannonaded his camp, called by our soldiers the Beavers' Camp. They had actually built hovels of straw, and encouraged by the presence of their general, they braved cold, privations, dangers, and the chances of so bold an enterprise, and awaited with impatience the moment for crossing to the opposite bank. On the 3rd of March General Dellers arrived with a new division. On the 4th, Gertruydenburg opened its gates, and everything was ready for effecting the passage of the Bielbos.

Meanwhile the struggle between the two parties in the interior still continued. The death of Lepelletier had already furnished occasion to the Mountaineers to assert that they were personally threatened; and the Assembly had not been able to refuse to renew, on their motion, the committee of

surveillance. The committee had been composed of Moun-
taineers, which for its first act had ordered the apprehension
of Gorsas,* a deputy and journalist attached to the interests
of the Gironde. The Jacobins had obtained another advantage,
namely, the suspension of the prosecutions decreed on the 20th
of January against the authors of September. No sooner were
these prosecutions commenced than overwhelming proofs had
been discovered against the principal Revolutionists, and against
Danton himself. The Jacobins then started up, declaring that
everybody was culpable on those days, because everybody had
deemed them necessary, and permitted them. They even had
the audacity to assert that the only fault to be found with
those days was that they had been left incomplete; and they
demanded a suspension of the proceedings, of which a handle
was made to attack the purest Revolutionists. They had
carried their motion; the proceedings were suspended, that
is to say, abolished; and a deputation of Jacobins had im-
mediately waited on the minister of justice, to beg that extra-
ordinary couriers might be despatched to stop the proceedings
already commenced against the *brethren of Meaux*.

We have already seen that Pache had been obliged to quit
the ministry, and that Roland had voluntarily resigned. This
reciprocal concession had not allayed animosities. The Jacobins,
by no means satisfied, insisted that Roland should be brought
to trial. They alleged that he had robbed the State of enor-
mous sums, and placed more than twelve millions in Lon-
don; that those funds were employed in perverting opinion
by publications, and in exciting disturbances by the fore-
stalling of corn: they demanded also that prosecutions should
be instituted against Clavières, Lebrun, and Beurnonville, all
traitors, according to them, and accomplices in the intrigues
of the Girondins. At the same time they prepared a com-
pensation of a very different kind for the displaced minister
who had shown them so much complaisance. Cambon, the
successor of Petion in the mayoralty of Paris, had resigned
functions far too arduous for his weakness. The Jacobins in-
stantly bethought them of Pache, in whom they discovered
the wisdom and coolness requisite for a magistrate. They
applauded themselves for this idea, communicated it to the
commune, to the sections, and to all the clubs; and the Pari-
sians, influenced by them, avenged Pache for his dismissal
by electing him their mayor. Provided Pache should prove
as docile in this office as he had been when minister at war,

* See Appendix KKK.

the sway of the Jacobins would be ensured in Paris; and in this choice they had consulted their advantage not less than their passions.

The dearth of provisions and the embarrassments of trade still occasioned disturbances and complaints, and from December to February the evil had considerably increased. The fear of commotions and pillage, the dislike of the farmers to take paper, the high prices arising from the great abundance of that fictitious money, were, as we have already observed, the causes which prevented the easy traffic in grain, and produced dearth. The administrative efforts of the communes had, nevertheless, in a certain degree, made amends for the stagnation of trade; and there was no lack of articles of consumption in the markets, but they were at an exorbitant price. The value of the assignats declining daily in proportion to their total mass, it required a larger and larger amount to purchase the same quantity of necessaries, and thus the prices became excessive. The people, receiving only the same nominal value for their labour, could no longer procure such things as they needed, and vented themselves in complaints and threats. Bread was not the only article the price of which was enormously increased; that of sugar, coffee, candles, soap, was doubled. The laundresses had come to the Convention to complain that they were obliged to pay thirty sous for soap, which had formerly cost them but fourteen. To no purpose were the people told to raise the price of their labour, in order to re-establish the proportion between their wages and the articles of consumption. They could not be brought to act in concert for the accomplishment of this object, and cried out against the rich, against forestallers, against the trading aristocracy; they demanded the simplest expedient, a fixed standard, a maximum.

The Jacobins, the members of the commune, who were mere populace in comparison with the Convention, but who, with reference to the populace itself, were assemblies that might almost be called enlightened, were sensible of the inconveniences of a fixed price. Though more inclined than the Convention to admit of it, they nevertheless opposed it, and Dubois de Crancé, the two Robespierres, Thuriot, and other Mountaineers were daily heard declaiming at the Jacobins against the plan of the maximum. Chaumette* and Hebert did the same at the commune; but the tribunes murmured, and sometimes answered them with hootings. Deputations of the sections

* See Appendix LLL.

frequently came to reproach the commune with its moderation and its connivance with the forestallers. It was in these assemblies of the sections that the lowest classes of agitators met; and there reigned a revolutionary fanaticism still more ignorant and violent than at the commune and the Jacobins. Conjointly with the Cordeliers, whither all the acting men resorted, the sections produced all the disturbances of the capital. Their inferiority and their obscurity, by exposing them to more agitations, exposed them also to underhand manœuvres in a contrary spirit; and there the remnants of the aristocracy dared to show themselves, and to make some attempts at resistance. The former creatures of the nobility, the late servants of the emigrants, all the turbulent idlers who between the two opposite causes had preferred the cause of the aristocracy, repaired to some of the sections, where the honest citizens persevered in favour of the Girondins, and concealed themselves behind this judicious and rational opposition, for the purpose of attacking the Mountaineers, and labouring in favour of foreigners and of the old system. In these conflicts the honest citizens most frequently withdrew. The two extreme classes of agitators were thus left in battle array, and they fought in this lower region with terrific violence. Horrid scenes were daily occurring, on occasion of petitions proposed to be addressed to the commune, the Jacobins, or the Assembly. From these tempests sprang, according to the result of the conflict, either addresses against September and the maximum, or addresses against these addressers, the aristocrats, and the forestallers.

The commune reproved the inflammatory petitions of the sections, and exhorted them to beware of secret agitators who were striving to produce dissensions among them. It acted the same part in regard to the sections as the Convention acted in regard to itself. The Jacobins, not having, like the commune, specific functions to exercise, occupied themselves in discussing all sorts of subjects, had great philosophical pretensions, and laid claim to a better comprehension of social economy than the sections and the club of the Cordeliers. They affected, therefore, in many instances, not to share the vulgar passions of those subaltern assemblies, and condemned the fixed standard as dangerous to the freedom of trade. But substituting another expedient for that which they rejected, they had proposed to cause assignats to be taken at par, and to punish with death any one who should refuse to take them at the value which they purported to bear; as if this had not been another manner of attacking the freedom of trade. They

also proposed to bind themselves reciprocally to desist from using sugar and coffee, in order to produce a forced reduction in the prices of those commodities ; and lastly, they suggested the expediency of putting a stop to the creation of assignats, and supplying their place by loans from the rich — forced loans, assessed according to the number of servants, horses, &c. All these propositions did not prevent the evil from increasing, and rendering a crisis inevitable. Meanwhile they mutually reproached one another with the public calamities. The Girondins were accused of acting in concert with the rich and with the forestallers, for the purpose of famishing the people, driving them to insurrection, and thence deriving a pretext for enacting new martial laws ; they were accused also of an intention to bring in foreigners by means of the disturbances — an absurd charge, but which proved a fatal one. The Girondins replied by the like accusations. They reproached their adversaries with causing the dearth and the commotions by the alarms which they excited in commerce, and with a design to arrive by these commotions at anarchy, by anarchy at power, and perhaps at foreign domination.

The end of February was at hand, and the difficulty of procuring the necessaries of life had raised the irritation of the people to the highest pitch. The women, apparently more deeply touched by this kind of suffering, were in extreme agitation. They repaired, on the 22nd, to the Jacobins, soliciting the use of their hall, that they might there deliberate on the high price of the articles of consumption, and prepare a petition to the National Convention. It was well known that the object of this petition was to propose the maximum : and the application was refused. The tribunes then treated the Jacobins as they had sometimes treated the Assembly. *Down with the forestallers ! down with the rich !* was the general cry. The president was obliged to put on his hat to appease the tumult ; and to account for this want of respect, it was alleged that there had been disguised aristocrats in the hall. Robespierre and Dubois de Crancé inveighed anew against the plan of a maximum, and recommended to the people to keep quiet, that they might not furnish their adversaries with a pretext for calumniating them, and give them occasion for enacting sanguinary laws.

Marat, who pretended to devise the simplest and most expeditious remedies for all evils, declared in his paper of the 25th that forestalling would never cease, unless more efficient measures than all those which had been hitherto proposed were resorted to. Inveighing against *monopolists, the*

*dealers in luxuries, the agents of chicanery, the limbs of the law, the ex-nobles, whom the unfaithful representatives of the people encouraged in crime by impunity, he added, "In every country where the rights of the people are not empty titles ostentatiously recorded in a mere declaration, the plunder of a few shops, and the hanging of the forestallers at their doors, would soon put a stop to these malversations which are driving five millions of men to despair, and causing thousands to perish for want. Will then the deputies of the people never do anything but chatter about their distresses, without proposing any remedy for them?"**

It was on the morning of the 25th that this presumptuous madman published these words. Whether they really had an influence upon the people, or whether the irritation, excited to the highest pitch, could no longer restrain itself, a multitude of women assembled tumultuously about the grocers' shops. At first they complained of the prices of articles, and loudly clamoured for their reduction. The commune was not apprized of the circumstance: Santerre, the commandant, was gone to Versailles to organize a corps of cavalry, and no order was issued for calling out the public force. Thus the rioters met with no obstacle, and soon proceeded from threats to acts of violence and pillage. The mob first collected in the streets of the Vieille-Monnaie, of the Cinq-Diamans, and of the Lombards. It began with insisting that the prices of all articles should be reduced one-half: soap to sixteen sous, lump-sugar to twenty-five, moist sugar to fifteen, candles to thirteen. Great quantities of goods were forcibly taken at this rate, and the price was paid by the buyers to the shopkeepers. But presently the rabble refused to pay at all, and carried off the goods without giving anything whatever for them. The armed force, coming up at one point, was repulsed, amidst shouts from all sides of *Down with the bayonets!* The Convention, the commune, the Jacobins, had all met. The Assembly was listening to a report on this subject; the minister of the interior was demonstrating to it that commodities were abundant in Paris, but that the evil proceeded from the disproportion between the value of the circulating medium and that of the commodities themselves. The Assembly, with a view to parry the difficulties of the moment, had immediately assigned funds to the commune, for the purpose of retailing necessaries at a lower price. At the same instant the commune, participating in its sentiments and its zeal, had

* *Journal de la République*, Feb. 25, 1793.

directed a report of the circumstances to be made, and ordered measures of police. At every new fact that was reported to it the tribunes shouted, *So much the better!* At every remedy that was proposed they cried, *Down! down!* Chaumette and Hebert* were hooted for proposing to beat the *générale*, and to require the armed force. It was nevertheless resolved that two strong patrols, preceded by two municipal officers, should be sent to restore order, and that twenty-seven more municipal officers should go and make proclamations in the sections.

The tumult had spread. The mob was plundering in different streets, and it was even proposed to go from the grocers to other shopkeepers. Meanwhile men of all parties seized the occasion to reproach one another for this riot and the evils which had caused it. "When you had a king," said the partisans of the abolished system, in the streets, "you were not obliged to pay such high prices for things, neither were you liable to be plundered." "You see," cried the partisans of the Girondins, "whither the system of violence and the impunity of revolutionary excesses will lead us!"

The Mountaineers were exceedingly mortified, and asserted that there were disguised aristocrats, Fayettists, Rolandins, Brisotins, mingled among the rabble, who excited it to pillage. They declared that they had found in the mob women of high rank, men wearing powder, servants of high personages, who were distributing assignats to induce the people to enter the shops. At length, after the lapse of several hours, the armed force was collected; Santerre returned from Versailles; the requisite orders were issued; the battalion of Brest, then in Paris, deployed with great zeal and confidence, and the rioters were finally dispersed.

In the evening a warm discussion took place at the Jacobins. These disorders were deplored, in spite of the shouts of the tribunes and the expressions of their dissatisfaction. Collot-d'Herbois, Thuriot, and Robespierre were unanimous in recommending tranquillity, and in throwing the blame of the tumult on the aristocrats and the Girondins. Robespierre made a long speech on this subject, in which he maintained that the populace was *impeccable*, that it was never in the wrong, and that if it were not misled, it would never commit any fault. He declared that among those groups of plunderers there were people who lamented the death of the King, and warmly praised the right side of the Assembly; that he had heard this himself, and that consequently there could not be any

* See Appendix MMM.

doubt respecting the real instigators who had led the people astray. Marat himself came to recommend good order, to condemn the pillage, which he had preached up that very morning in his paper, and to impute it to the Girondins and the royalists.

Next day the Assembly rang with the accustomed and ever useless complaints. Barrère inveighed forcibly against the crimes of the preceding day. He remarked upon the tardiness of the authorities to act in quelling the disturbance. The plunder had in fact begun at ten in the morning, and at five in the afternoon the armed force had not yet assembled. Barrère proposed that the mayor and the commandant-general should be summoned to explain the causes of this delay. A deputation of the section of Bon-Conseil seconded this motion. Salles then spoke. He proposed an act of accusation against the instigator of the pillage, Marat, and read the article inserted in his paper of the preceding day. Frequent motions had been made for an accusation against the instigators of disturbance, and particularly against Marat: there could not be a more favourable occasion for prosecuting them, for never had disturbance so speedily followed the provocation. Marat, not at all disconcerted, declared in the tribune that it was but natural that the people should do itself justice upon the fore-stallers, since the laws were inadequate, and that those who proposed to accuse him ought to be sent to the *Petites-Maisons*. Buzot moved the order of the day on the proposition to accuse *Monsieur Marat*. "The law is precise," said he, "but *Monsieur Marat* quibbles about its expressions; the jury will be embarrassed, and it will not be right to prepare a triumph for *Monsieur Marat* before the face of justice herself." A member desired that the Convention should declare to the republic that "yesterday morning Marat exhorted to plunder, and that yesterday afternoon plunder was committed." Numerous propositions succeeded. At length it was resolved to send all the authors of the disturbances without distinction before the ordinary tribunals. "Well, then!" exclaimed Marat, "pass an act of accusation against myself, that the Convention may prove that it has lost all shame." At these words a great tumult ensued. The Convention immediately sent Marat and all the authors of the misdemeanours committed on the 25th before the tribunals. Barrère's motion was adopted. Santerre and Pache were summoned to the bar. Fresh measures were taken against the supposed agents of foreigners and the emigrants. At the moment this notion of a foreign influence was universally accredited. On the preceding day new domiciliary

visits had been ordered throughout all France, for the purpose of apprehending emigrants and suspicious travellers. This same day the obligation to obtain passports was renewed; all keepers of taverns and lodging-houses were required to give an account of every foreigner lodging with them; and lastly, a new list of all the citizens of the sections was ordered.

Marat was at length to be accused, and on the following day his paper contained this passage:—

“Indignant at seeing the enemies of the public weal engaged in everlasting machinations against the people; disgusted at seeing forestallers of all sorts uniting to drive the people to despair by distress and famine; mortified at seeing that the measures taken by the Convention for preventing these conspiracies had not accomplished the object; grieved at the complaints of the unfortunate creatures who daily come to ask me for bread, at the same time accusing the Convention of suffering them to perish by want—I take up the pen for the purpose of suggesting the best means of at length putting a stop to the conspiracies of the public enemies, and to the sufferings of the people. The simplest ideas are those which first present themselves to a well-constituted mind, which is anxious solely for the general happiness without any reference to itself. I ask myself, then, why we do not turn against the public robbers those means which they employ to ruin the people and to destroy liberty. In consequence, I observe that in every country where the rights of the people are not empty titles ostentatiously recorded in a mere declaration, the plunder of a few shops, and the hanging of the forestallers at their own doors, would soon put a stop to their malversations! What do the leaders of the faction of statesmen do? They eagerly pounce upon this expression; they then lose no time in sending emissaries among the mob of women collected before the bakers’ shops, to urge them to take away at a certain price soap, candles, and sugar from the shops of the retail grocers, while these emissaries themselves plunder the shops of the poor patriot grocers. These villains then keep silence the whole day. They concert measures at night at a clandestine meeting held at the house of the strumpet of the counter-revolutionary Valazé,* and then come the next day to denounce me in the tribune as the instigator of the excesses of which they are themselves the primary authors.”

The quarrel became daily more and more violent. The parties

* See Appendix NNN.

openly threatened one another. Many of the deputies never went abroad without arms; and people began to say, with the same freedom as in the months of July and August in the preceding year, that they must save themselves by insurrection, and cut out the *mortified* part of the national representation. The Girondins met in the evening, in considerable number, at the residence of one of them, Valazé, and there they were quite undecided what course to pursue. Some believed, others disbelieved, in approaching dangers. Certain of them, as Salles and Louvet, supposed imaginary conspiracies, and by directing attention to chimeras, diverted it from the real danger. Roving from project to project, placed in the heart of Paris, without any force at their disposal, and reckoning only upon the opinion of the departments, immense, it is true, but inert, they were liable to be swept off every day by a *coup de main*. They had not succeeded in forming a departmental force: the bodies of federalists which had come spontaneously to Paris since the meeting of the Convention, were partly gained and had partly gone to the armies; and they had nothing to rely upon but four hundred men of Brest, whose firm bearing had put a stop to the pillage. For want of a departmental guard, they had in vain endeavoured to transfer the direction of the public force from the commune to the ministry of the interior. The Mountain, furious at this proposition, had intimidated the majority, and prevented it from voting such a measure. They could already reckon upon no more than eighty deputies, inaccessible to fear, and firm in their deliberations.

In this state of things the Girondins had but one expedient left, as impracticable as all the others—that of dissolving the Convention. Here again the violence of the Mountain prevented them from obtaining a majority. In their indecision, arising not from imbecility, but want of strength, they reposed upon the constitution. From the need to hope for something, they flattered themselves that the yoke of the law would restrain the passions, and put an end to all dissensions. Speculative minds were particularly fond of dwelling upon this idea. Condorcet had read his report, in the name of the committee of constitution, and had excited a general sensation. Condorcet, Petion, and Sièyes had been loaded with imprecations at the Jacobins. Their republic had been regarded as an aristocracy ready made for certain lofty and overbearing talents. Accordingly the Mountaineers opposed its being taken into consideration; and many members of the Convention, already sensible that their occupation would be not to constitute but to defend the Revolution, boldly declared that they ought to defer the

discussion relative to the constitution till the next year, and for the moment think of nothing but governing and fighting. Thus the long reign of that stormy Assembly began to announce itself. It ceased already to believe in the briefness of its legislative mission, and the Girondins saw themselves forsaken by their last hope—that of speedily controlling the factions by the laws.

Their adversaries were, on their part, not less embarrassed than themselves. They certainly had the violent passions in their favour; they had the Jacobins, the commune, and the majority of the sections; but they possessed none of the ministers. They dreaded the departments, where the two opinions were struggling with extreme fury, and where their own had an evident disadvantage. Lastly, they dreaded the foreign powers; and though the ordinary laws of revolutions ensure victory to the violent passions, yet these laws, being unknown, could not cheer them. Their plans were as vague as those of their adversaries. To attack the national representation was a course not less difficult than bold, and they had not yet accustomed themselves to this idea. There were certainly some thirty agitators who were bold enough to propose anything in the sections; but these plans were disapproved by the Jacobins, by the commune, by the Mountaineers, who, daily accused of conspiring, and daily justifying themselves, felt that propositions of this kind compromised them in the eyes of their adversaries and of the departments. Danton, who had taken but little share in the quarrels of the parties, was anxious only about two things: to secure himself from all prosecution on account of his revolutionary acts, and to prevent the Revolution from retrograding and sinking beneath the blows of the enemy. Marat himself, so reckless and so atrocious, when the question was concerning means—Marat hesitated; and Robespierre, notwithstanding his hatred of the Girondins, of Brissot, Roland, Guadet, Vergniaud, durst not think of an attack upon the national representation; he knew not what expedient to adopt; he was discouraged; he doubted the salvation of the Revolution, and told Garat that he was tired, sick of it, and that he verily believed people were plotting the ruin of all the defenders of the republic.

While the two parties were struggling with violence at Marseilles, at Lyons, and at Bordeaux, the proposition to get rid of the *appelants*, and to eject them from the Convention, proceeded from the Jacobins of Marseilles, in conflict with the partisans of the Girondins. This proposition, transferred to the Jacobins of Paris, was discussed there. Desfieux main-

tained that this measure was supported by affiliated societies enough to be converted into a petition, and presented to the National Convention. Robespierre, fearing that such a demand might lead to the entire renewal of the Assembly, and that in the contest of elections the party of the Mountain might be beaten, strongly opposed it, and finally caused it to be rejected, for the reasons usually advanced against all plans of dissolution.

Our military reverses now came to accelerate the progress of events. We left Dumouriez encamped on the shore of the Bielbos, and preparing for a hazardous but practicable landing in Holland. While he was making arrangements for his expedition, two hundred and sixty thousand combatants were marching against France, between the Upper Rhine and Holland. Fifty-six thousand Prussians, twenty-five thousand Hessians, Saxons, and Bavarians, threatened the Rhine from Basle to Mayence and Coblenz. From this point to the Meuse, thirty thousand men occupied Luxembourg. Sixty thousand Austrians and ten thousand Prussians were marching towards our quarters on the Meuse, to raise the sieges of Maestricht and Venloo. Lastly, forty thousand English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, who were still behindhand, were advancing from the extremity of Holland upon our line of operation.

The plan of the enemy was to bring us back from Holland upon the Scheldt, to compel us to recross the Meuse, and then to wait upon that river till the fortress of Mayence should be retaken. His intention was to march on thus by little and little, to advance equally upon all the points at once, and not penetrate rapidly upon any, that he might not expose his flanks. This cautious and methodical plan would not have allowed us to push the offensive enterprise against Holland much farther and more actively, had not blunders, or unlucky accidents, or too great precipitation in taking alarm, obliged us to relinquish it. The Prince of Coburg* who had distinguished himself in the last campaign against the Turks, commanded the Austrians, who were advancing towards the Meuse. Disorders prevailed in our quarters, which were dispersed between Maestricht, Aix-la-Chapelle, Liege, and Tongres. Early in March the Prince of Coburg crossed the Roer, and advanced by Duren and Aldenhoven upon Aix-la-Chapelle. Our troops, suddenly attacked, retreated in disorder towards Aix-la-Chapelle, and abandoned even the gates to the enemy. Miaczinsky resisted for some time; but after a very sanguinary

* See Appendix OOO.

combat in the streets of the town, he was obliged to give way, and to retire in disorder towards Liege. At the same time Stengel and Neuilly, separated by this movement, were driven back upon Limburg. Miranda, who was besieging Maestricht, and who was also liable to be cut off from the main body of the army, which had retired to Liege, even quitted the left bank, and retreated upon Tongres. The imperialists immediately entered Maestricht, and the Archduke Charles,* boldly pushing on in pursuit beyond the Meuse, proceeded to Tongres, and there obtained an advantage. Valence, Dampierre, and Miaczinsky, uniting at Liege, then conceived that they ought to make haste to rejoin Miranda, and marched upon St. Trond, whither Miranda, on his side, was directing his course. The retreat was so precipitate that great part of the *matériel* was lost. However, after great dangers, they effected their junction at St. Trond. Lamarlière and Champmorin, posted at Ruremonde, had time to repair by Dietz to the same point. Stengel and Neuilly, completely cut off from the army, and driven back towards Limburg, were picked up at Namur by the division of General d'Harville. At length our troops, having rallied at Tirlemont, recovered some degree of composure and confidence, and awaited the arrival of Dumouriez, who was loudly called for.

No sooner was he apprized of this first discomfiture than he ordered Miranda to rally all his force at Maestricht, and quietly to continue the siege with seventy thousand men. He was persuaded that the Austrians would not dare to give battle, and that the invasion of Holland would soon bring the allies upon his rear. This notion was correct, and founded upon this true idea, that in case of a reciprocal offensive the victory remains with him who can contrive to wait the longest. The very timid plan of the imperialists, who would not break out upon any point, rendered this notion still more reasonable; but the negligence of the generals, who had not concentrated themselves early enough, their confusion after the attack, the impossibility of rallying in presence of the enemy, and above all, the absence of a man superior in authority and influence, rendered the execution of the order given by Dumouriez impracticable. Letters after letters were therefore despatched to him, urging his return from Holland. The terror had become general. More than ten thousand deserters had already quitted the army, and were spreading themselves towards the interior. The commissioners of the Convention hastened to Paris, and

* See Appendix PPP.

caused an order to be sent to Dumouriez to leave to another the expedition attempted upon Holland, and to return with all possible speed to put himself at the head of the grand army of the Meuse. This order he received on the 8th, and he set out on the 9th, mortified to see all his projects overthrown. He returned, more disposed than ever to censure the revolutionary system introduced into Belgium, and to quarrel with the Jacobins on account of the ill success of his plans of campaign. He found in reality abundant matter both for complaint and censure. The agents of the executive power in Belgium exercised a despotic and vexatious authority. They had everywhere excited the populace, and frequently employed violence in the assemblies where the union with France was discussed. They had seized the plate of the churches, sequestered the revenues of the clergy, confiscated the estates of the nobility, and kindled the strongest indignation in all classes of the Belgian people. Already an insurrection against the French had begun to break forth towards Grammont.

It needed not circumstances so serious to dispose Dumouriez to treat the commissioners of the government with severity. He began with ordering two of them to be arrested, and sending them under an escort to Paris. He talked to the others in the most peremptory tone, compelled them to confine themselves to their functions, forbade them to interfere in the military arrangements of the generals, or to give any orders to troops within their district. He removed General Moreton, who had made common cause with them. He shut up the clubs, caused part of the articles taken from the churches to be restored to the Belgians, and accompanied these measures with a proclamation, disavowing, in the name of France, the vexatious which had been committed. He called the perpetrators *brigands*, and exercised a dictatorship, which, while it attached Belgium to him, and rendered the occupation of the country more secure to the French army, raised to the highest pitch the wrath of the Jacobins. He had actually a very warm discussion with Camus, expressed himself contemptuously respecting the government of the moment; and forgetting the fate of Lafayette, and relying too implicitly on military power, he conducted himself as general, certain that he could, if he pleased, check the progress of the Revolution, and well disposed to do so if he should be pushed to extremity. The same spirit was communicated to his staff. The officers spoke with disdain of the populace which ruled Paris, and of the imbecile Conventionalists, who suffered themselves to be oppressed by it; all who were suspected of Jacobinism were

maltreated and removed ; and the soldiers, overjoyed at seeing their general again among them, affected in the presence of the commissioners of the Convention to stop his horse, and to kiss his boots, at the same time calling him their father.

These tidings excited the greatest tumult in Paris, and provoked fresh outcries against traitors and counter-revolutionists. Choudieu, the deputy, immediately took advantage of them to demand, as had frequently been done, that the federalists still in Paris should be sent off. Whenever unfavourable intelligence arrived from the armies, this demand was sure to be repeated. Barbaroux wished to speak on this subject ; but his presence excited a commotion hitherto unexampled. Buzot attempted in vain to pay a tribute to the firmness of the men of Brest during the riot. Boyer-Fonfrède merely obtained, by a sort of compromise, the concession that the federalists of the maritime departments should go to complete the army of the coasts of the ocean, which was still too weak. The others were allowed to remain in Paris.

Next day, March the 8th, the Convention ordered all the officers to rejoin their corps forthwith. Danton proposed to furnish the Parisians once more with an occasion to save France. "Ask them for thirty thousand men," said he, "send them to Dumouriez ; Belgium will be secured to us, and Holland conquered." Thirty thousand men were, in fact, not difficult to be found in Paris ; they would be a powerful reinforcement to the army of the North, and give new importance to the capital. Danton moreover proposed to send commissioners of the Convention to the departments and to the sections, in order to accelerate the recruiting by all possible means. All these motions were adopted. The sections had orders to meet in the evening ; commissioners were appointed to repair to them ; the theatres were closed, that the public attention might not be diverted ; and the black flag was hoisted at the Hôtel de Ville as a sign of distress.

The meeting accordingly took place in the evening. The commissioners were most favourably received in the sections. Men's imaginations were excited, and the proposal to repair immediately to the armies was cheerfully acceded to. But the same thing happened on this occasion as on the 2nd and 3rd of September. The Parisians insisted that before their departure the traitors should be punished. Ever since that period they had an expression ready made. They did not like, they said, to leave behind them conspirators ready to butcher their families in their absence. It would therefore be necessary, in order to avoid fresh popular executions, to

organize legal and terrible executions, which should reach, without delay and without appeal, the counter-revolutionists, the hidden conspirators, who threatened within the Revolution, which was already threatened from without. It would be necessary to suspend the sword over the heads of generals, of ministers, of unfaithful deputies, who compromised the public welfare. It was, moreover, not just that the wealthy egotists, who were not fond of the system of equality, who cared but little whether they belonged to the Convention or to Brunswick, and who consequently would not come forward to fill up the ranks of the army—it was not just that they should remain strangers to the public cause, and do nothing in its behalf. It would be but right, consequently, that all those who possessed an income of more than fifteen hundred livres should pay a tax proportionate to their means, and sufficient to indemnify those who should devote themselves for all the expenses of the campaign. This twofold wish of a new tribunal instituted against the hostile party, and of a contribution of the rich in favour of the poor who were going to fight, was almost general in the sections. Several of them went to the commune to express it; the Jacobins adopted it on their part; and next day the Convention was startled by the expression of a universal and irresistible opinion.

On the following day, March 9th, all the Mountaineer deputies attended the sitting. The Jacobins filled the tribunes. They had turned all the women out of them, “because,” as they said, “they should have an expedition to perform.” Several of them carried pistols. Gamon, the deputy, would have complained of this, but could not obtain a hearing. The Mountain and the tribunes, firmly resolved, intimidated the majority, and appeared determined not to admit of any opposition. The mayor entered with the council of the commune, confirmed the report of the commissioners of the Convention respecting the self-devotion of the sections, but repeated their wish for an extraordinary tribunal, and a tax upon the rich. A great number of sections succeeded the commune, and likewise demanded the tribunal and the tax. Some added the demand of a law against forestallers, of a maximum in the price of commodities, and of the abrogation of the decree which invested merchandise with the character of metallic money, and permitted it to circulate at a different price from the paper currency. After all these petitions it was insisted that the several measures proposed should be put to the vote. A motion was made for voting forthwith the principle of the establishment of an extraordinary tribunal. Some deputies

opposed it. Lanjuinais spoke, and insisted that if they were absolutely required to sanction the iniquity of a tribunal without appeal, they ought at least to confine this calamity to the single department of Paris. Guadet and Valazé made vain efforts to support Lanjuinais. They were brutally interrupted by the Mountain. Some deputies even demanded that this tribunal should bear the name of *revolutionary*. But the Convention, without permitting further discussion, decreed the establishment of an *extraordinary criminal* tribunal to try, without appeal and without reference to the Court of Cassation, conspirators and counter-revolutionists; and directed its committee of legislation to present to it on the following day a plan of organization.

Immediately after this decree a second was passed, which imposed an extraordinary war-tax on the rich; also a third, appointing forty-one commissions of two deputies each, authorized to repair to the departments to hasten the recruiting by all possible means, to disarm those who should not go, to cause suspicious persons to be apprehended, to take horses kept for luxury—in short, to exercise there the most absolute dictatorship. To these measures were added others. The exhibitions of the colleges were in future to be conferred only on the sons of those who should join the armies. All bachelors holding situations in the public offices were to be replaced by fathers of families; and arrest for debt was to be abolished. The right to make a will had been annulled some days before. All these measures were adopted at the instigation of Danton, who thoroughly understood the art of attaching interests to the cause of the Revolution.

The Jacobins, satisfied with this day, hastened to their club to applaud themselves for the zeal which they had displayed, for the manner in which they had filled the tribunes, and for the imposing assemblage presented by the close ranks of the Mountain. They recommended to each other to persevere, and to be all present at the sitting of the following day, at which the extraordinary tribunal was to be organized. Robespierre, said they, had given a strict injunction to this effect. Still they were not content with what they had obtained. One of them proposed to draw up a petition demanding the renewal of the committees and the administration, the apprehension of all functionaries at the very moment of their dismissal from office, and that of all the administrators of the posts, and counter-revolutionary journalists. It was proposed to draw up the petition on the spot; but the president objected that the society could not perform any collective act, and it was therefore

agreed to seek some other place for meeting in the character of mere petitioners. They then spread themselves over Paris. Tumult reigned in that city. About a hundred persons, the usual promoters of all the disturbances, headed by Lasouski, had repaired to the office of Gorsas, the journalist, armed with swords and pistols, and had broken in pieces his presses. Gorsas had fled; but he would not have escaped had he not defended himself with great courage and presence of mind. They had paid a like visit to the publisher of the *Chronique*, and also ravaged his printing-office.

The next day threatened to be still more stormy. It was Sunday. A dinner was provided at the section of Halle-aux-Blés, as an entertainment to the recruits who were going off to the army: the want of occupation of the populace, together with the excitement of the festivity, might lead to the worst projects. The hall of the Convention was as full as on the preceding day. In the tribunes and at the Mountain the ranks were equally close and equally threatening. The discussion opened upon various matters of detail. A letter from Dumouriez was then taken into consideration. Robespierre supported the propositions of the general, and insisted that Lanoue and Stengel, both commanding in the advanced guard at the time of the late rout, should be placed under accusation. The accusation was immediately decreed. The next business brought forward was the despatch of the deputies who were to be the commissioners for the recruiting. Their votes, however, being required for ensuring the establishment of the extraordinary tribunal, it was resolved that it should be organized in the course of the day, and that the commissioners should be sent off on the morrow. Cambacérès* immediately moved for the organization both of the extraordinary tribunal and of the ministry. Buzot then rushed to the tribune, but was interrupted by violent murmurs. "These murmurs," he exclaimed, "teach me what I already knew, that there is courage in opposing the despotism which is preparing for us." Renewed murmurs arose. He continued: "I give you up my life; but I am determined to rescue my memory from dishonour by opposing the despotism of the National Convention. People desire that you should combine in your hands all the powers." "You ought to act, not prate," exclaimed a voice. "You are right," replied Buzot; "the public writers of the monarchy also said that it was necessary to act, and that consequently

* See Appendix QQQ.

the despotic government of one was better—" A fresh noise was raised. Confusion prevailed in the Assembly. At length it was agreed to adjourn the organization of the ministry, and to attend for the moment to the extraordinary tribunal alone. The report of the committee was asked for. That report was not yet ready, and the sketch which had been agreed upon was demanded in its stead. It was read by Robert Lindet, who at the same time deplored its severity. The provisions proposed by him, in a tone of the deepest sorrow, were these: The tribunal shall consist of nine judges, appointed by the Convention, independent of all forms, acquiring conviction by any means, divided into two ever-permanent sections, prosecuting by desire of the Convention, or directly, those who by their conduct or the manifestation of their opinions shall have endeavoured to mislead the people—those who by the places which they held under the old government remind us of the prerogatives usurped by the despots.

On the reading of this horrible project, applauses burst forth on the left, and a violent agitation ensued on the right. "Better die," exclaimed Vergniaud, "than consent to the establishment of this Venetian inquisition!" "The people," replied Amar, "must have either this measure of salvation or insurrection." "My attachment to the revolutionary power," said Cambon, "is sufficiently known; but if the people have made a wrong choice in the elections, we, too, might make a wrong choice in the appointment of these nine judges, and then they would be insupportable tyrants whom we should have set up over ourselves!" "This tribunal," exclaimed Duhera, "is still too good for villains and counter-revolutionists!" The tumult continued, and time was wasted in threats, abuse, and all sorts of cries. "We will have it so," shouted some. "We will not have it so," replied others. Barrère demanded juries, and forcibly insisted on the necessity for them. Turreau moved that they should be selected from Paris; Boyer-Fonfrède, from the whole extent of the republic, because the new tribunal would have to judge of crimes committed in the departments, in the armies, and everywhere. The day was far advanced, and night already coming on. Gensonné, the president, gave a summary of the different propositions, and was preparing to put them to the vote. The Assembly, worn out with fatigue, seemed ready to yield to so much violence. The members of the Plain began to retire, and the Mountain, in order to complete the work of intimidation,

insisted that the votes should be given *vivâ voce*. "Yes," cried Feraud,* indignantly, "yes, let us vote *vivâ voce*, to make known to the world the men who want to murder innocence under the shadow of the law!" This vehement apostrophe rallied the right side and the centre, and contrary to all appearance, the majority declared: (1) there shall be juries; (2) those juries shall be taken in equal number in the departments; (3) they shall be appointed by the Convention.

After the adoption of these three propositions, Gensonné thought it right to grant an hour's respite to the Assembly, which was overwhelmed with fatigue. The deputies rose to retire. "I summon the good citizens to keep their places!" cried Danton. At the sound of that terrible voice every one resumed his seat. "What!" he exclaimed, "is it at the moment when Miranda may be beaten, and Dumouriez, taken in the rear, may be obliged to lay down his arms, that you think of deserting your post!† It behoves us to complete the enactment of those extraordinary laws destined to overawe your internal enemies. They must be arbitrary, because it is impossible to render them precise; because, terrible though they be, they will be preferable to the popular executions which now, as in September, would be the consequence of the delay of justice. After this tribunal, you must organize an energetic executive power, which shall be in immediate contact with you, and be able to set in motion all your means in men and in money. To-day, then, the extraordinary tribunal, to-morrow the executive power, and the next day the departure of your commissioners for the departments. People may calumniate me if they please; but let my memory perish, so the republic be saved."

Notwithstanding this vehement exhortation, an adjournment for an hour was granted, and the deputies went to take indispensably necessary rest. It was about seven o'clock in the evening. The idleness of the Sunday, the dinner given to the recruits, the question discussed in the Assembly, all tended to increase the popular agitation. Without any plot concerted beforehand, as the Girondins believed, the mere disposition of people's minds urged them on to a stirring scene. The Jacobins were assembled. Bantabolle had hastened thither to make his report of the sitting of the Convention, and to complain of the patriots, who had not been so energetic on that as on the preceding day. The general council of the commune

* See Appendix RRR.

† It was not known at this moment that Dumouriez had quitted Holland to return to the Meuse.

was likewise sitting. The sections, forsaken by the peaceable citizens, were given up to the influence of furious men, who were passing inflammatory resolutions. In that of the Quatre-Nations, eighteen frantic persons had decided that the department of the Seine ought at this moment to exercise the sovereignty, and that the electoral body of Paris ought immediately to assemble, in order to clear the National Convention of those unfaithful deputies who were conspiring with the enemies of the Revolution. The same resolution had been adopted at the club of the Cordeliers; and a deputation of the section and of the club was proceeding at that moment to communicate it to the commune. According to the usual practice in all commotions, rioters were running to direct the barriers to be closed.

At this same instant the cries of an infuriated populace resounded in the streets. The recruits, who had dined at the Halle-au-Blé, filled with fury and wine, armed with pistols and swords, advanced towards the hall of the Jacobins, singing atrocious songs. They arrived there just as Bentabolle was concluding his report of the sitting of the day. On reaching the door, they demanded permission to file off through the hall. They passed through it amidst applause. "Citizens," said one of them, addressing the Assembly, "at the moment when the country is in danger, the conquerors of the 10th of August are rising to exterminate its enemies abroad and at home." "Yes," replied Collot-d'Herbois, the president, "in spite of intriguers, we will, together with you, save liberty." Desfioux then spoke. He said that Miranda was a creature of Petion, and that he was betraying the country; and that Brissot had caused war to be declared against England in order to ruin France. "There is but one way left to save ourselves," continued he—"that is, to get rid of all these traitors, to put all the *appellants* under arrest at their own homes, and let the people elect other deputies in their stead." A man in military dress, stepping forth from the crowd which had just filed off, insisted that arrest was not sufficient, and that the people ought to take vengeance. "What is inviolability?" cried he. "I trample it under foot." . . . As he uttered these words Dubois de Crancé* arrived, and opposed these propositions. His resistance occasioned a frightful tumult. It was proposed that they should divide into two columns, one of which should go and fetch their Cordelier brethren, while the other should proceed to the

* See Appendix SSS.

Convention, file off through the hall, and intimate to the Assembly all that was required of it. There was some hesitation in deciding upon the departure; but the tribunes took possession of the hall, the lights were extinguished, the agitators carried their point, and two corps were formed for the purpose of proceeding to the Convention and the Cordeliers.

At this moment the wife of Louvet, who had lodgings in the Rue St. Honoré, near the Jacobins, hearing the vociferations which proceeded from that place, went thither to ascertain what was going forward. Having witnessed this scene, she hastened to apprise Louvet* of it. He, with many other members of the right side, had left the sitting of the Convention, where it was said they were to be assassinated. Louvet, armed as people generally went at that time, and favoured by the darkness of night, ran from house to house to warn his friends, and to desire them to meet in a retired place, where they might be safe from the attacks of murderers. He found them at the house of Petion, quietly deliberating upon the decrees to be passed. He strove to communicate to them his alarm, but could not disturb the equanimity of the unimpassioned Petion, who, looking up at the sky, and seeing the rain falling, drily observed, "There will be nothing to-night." A rendezvous was nevertheless appointed, and one of the deputies, named Kervelegan, posted off at full speed to the barracks of the Brest battalion to desire that it might be got under arms. Meanwhile the ministers, having no force at their disposal, knew not what means to take for defending the Convention and themselves, for they, too, were threatened. The Assembly, struck with consternation, anticipated a terrible *dénouement*; and at every noise, at every shout, it fancied itself on the point of being stormed by murderers. Forty members only were left on the right side, and fully expected an attack to be made on their lives. They had arms, and held their pistols in readiness. They had agreed among themselves to rush upon the Mountain at the first movement, and despatch as many of its members as they could. The tribunes and the Mountain were in the same attitude; and both sides looked forward to an awful and sanguinary catastrophe.

But audacity had not yet reached such a pitch as to carry into effect a 10th of August against the Convention. This was but a preliminary scene, only a 20th of June. The commune durst not favour a movement for which people's minds

* See Appendix TTT.

were not sufficiently prepared ; nay, it was very sincerely indignant at it. The mayor, when the two deputations of the Cordeliers and the Quatre-Nations presented themselves, refused to listen to them. Complaisant to the Jacobins, he was certainly no friend to the Girondins, nay, he might perhaps wish for their downfall ; but he had reason to regard a commotion as dangerous. He was, moreover, like Petion on the 20th of June and the 10th of August, deterred by the illegality, and wanted violence to be done to him to make him yield. He therefore repulsed the two deputations. Hebert and Chaumette, the *procureurs* of the commune, supported him. Orders were sent to keep the barriers open ; an address to the sections was drawn up, and another to the Jacobins, to bring them back to order. Santerre made a most energetic speech to the commune, and inveighed against those who demanded a new insurrection. He said that, the tyrant being overthrown, this second insurrection could be directed only against the people, who at present reigned alone ; that if there were bad deputies, they ought to endure them, as they had endured Maury and Cazalès ; that Paris was not all France, and was obliged to accept the deputies of the departments ; that as for the minister at war, if he had displaced officers, he had a right to do so, since he was responsible for his agents. . . . As for Paris, a few silly and mistaken men fancied that they could govern, and wanted to disorganize everything ; that finally, he should call out the force, and reduce the evil-disposed to order.

Beurnonville, for his part, his hotel being surrounded, got over the wall of his garden, collected as many people as he could, put himself at the head of the Brest battalion, and overawed the agitators. The section of the Quatre-Nations, the Cordeliers, and the Jacobins returned to their respective places. Thus the resistance of the commune, the conduct of Santerre, the courage of Beurnonville and the men of Brest, perhaps also the heavy rain that was falling, prevented the insurrection from being pushed any further. Moreover, passion was not yet sufficiently strong against all that was most noble and most generous in the infant republic. Petion, Condorcet, and Vergniaud were still destined for some time longer to display in the Convention their courage, their talents, and their overpowering eloquence. The tumult subsided. The mayor, summoned to the bar of the Convention, assured it that quiet was restored ; and that very night it peaceably completed the decree which organized the revolutionary tribunal. This tribunal was to be composed of a jury, five

judges, a public accuser, and two assistants, all appointed by the Convention.* The jurors were to be chosen before the month of May, and it was provided that *ad interim* they might be selected from the department of Paris and the four contiguous departments. The jurors were to signify their opinions *viva voce*.

The effect of the occurrences of the 10th of March was to excite the indignation of the members of the right side, and to cause embarrassment to those of the left side who were compromised by premature demonstrations. On all hands this movement was disavowed as illegal, as an attack upon the national representation. Even those who did not disapprove of the idea of a new insurrection, condemned this as ill managed, and declared that they ought to beware of agitators paid by England and the emigrants to provoke disturbances. The two sides of the Assembly seemed to concur in establishing this opinion. Both entertained the notion of a secret influence, and mutually accused each other of being its accomplices. A strange scene tended to confirm still more this general opinion. The section Poissonnière, in presenting volunteers, demanded an act of accusation against Dumouriez, the general on whom rested for the moment all the hopes of the French army. This petition, read by the president of the section, was received with a general burst of indignation. "He is an aristocrat," cried one, "and paid by the English." At the same instant the flag borne by the section being examined, it was perceived with astonishment that its riband was white, and that it was surmounted by fleurs-de-lis. Shouts of indignation broke forth at this sight. The fleurs-de-lis and the riband were torn in pieces, and its place supplied by a tricoloured riband which a woman threw from the tribunes. Isnard immediately spoke, and demanded an act of accusation against the president of that section. More than a hundred voices supported this motion, and in this number that which attracted most attention was Marat's. "This petition," said he, "is a plot; it ought to be read through; you will see that it demands the heads of

* "The decree of the Convention was in these terms: 'There shall be established at Paris an extraordinary Criminal Revolutionary Tribunal. It shall take cognizance of every attempt against liberty, equality, the unity, or indivisibility of the republic, the internal or external security of the State, of all conspiracies tending to the re-establishment of royalty, or hostile to the sovereignty of the people, whether the accused are public functionaries, civil or military, or private individuals. The members of the jury shall be chosen by the Convention; the judges, the public accuser, the two substitutes, shall be named by it; the tribunal shall decide on the opinion of the majority of the jury; the opinion of the court shall be without appeal; and the effects of the condemned shall be confiscated to the republic.'"—*History of the Convention*.

Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, . . . and others. "You are aware," added he, "what a triumph such a massacre would be for our enemies! It would be the destruction of the Convention!" . . . Here universal applause interrupted Marat. He resumed, denounced himself as one of the principal agitators, named Fournier, and demanded his apprehension. It was instantly ordered; the whole affair was referred to the committee of general safety; and the Assembly ordered a copy of the minutes (*procès-verbal*) to be sent to Dumouriez, to prove to him, that, as far as he was concerned, it gave no encouragement to the denunciations of calumniators.

Young Varlet, a friend and companion of Fournier, hastened to the Jacobins to demand justice for his apprehension, and to propose to go and set him at liberty. "Fournier," said he, "is not the only person threatened. Lasouski, Desfieux, and myself are in the same predicament. The revolutionary tribunal which is just established will turn against the patriots, like that of the 10th of August, and the brethren who hear me are not Jacobins if they do not follow me." He was then proceeding to accuse Dumouriez, but here an extraordinary agitation pervaded the Assembly: the president put on his hat, and said that people wanted to ruin the Jacobins. Billaud-Varennes himself ascended the tribune, complained of these inflammatory propositions, justified Dumouriez, to whom, he said, he was no friend, but who nevertheless did his duty, and who had proved that he was determined to fight stoutly. He complained of a plan for disorganizing the National Convention by attacks upon it; declared Varlet, Fournier, and Desfieux as highly suspicious; and supported the proposal for a purificatory scrutiny, to clear the society of all the secret enemies who wished to compromise it. The sentiments of Billaud-Varennes were adopted. Satisfactory intelligence, such as the rallying of the army by Dumouriez, and the acknowledgment of the republic by the Porte, contributed to restore complete tranquillity. Thus Marat, Billaud-Varennes, and Robespierre, who also spoke in the same spirit, all declared themselves against the agitators, and seemed to agree in believing that they were in the pay of the enemy. This is an incontestable proof that there existed no plot secretly formed, as the Girondins believed. Had such a plot existed, assuredly Billaud-Varennes, Marat, and Robespierre would have been more or less implicated in it; they would have been obliged to keep silence, like the left side of the Legislative Assembly after the 20th of June, and certainly they could not have demanded the apprehension of one of

their accomplices. But in this instance the movement was but the effect of popular agitation,* and it could have been disavowed if it had been too premature or too unskilfully combined. Besides, Marat, Robespierre, and Billaud-Varennes, though they desired the fall of the Girondins, sincerely dreaded the intrigues of foreigners, feared a disorganization in presence of the victorious enemy, felt apprehension of the opinions of the departments, were embarrassed by the accusations to which these movements exposed them, and probably never thought as yet of anything further than making themselves masters of all the departments of the ministry, of all the committees, and driving the Girondins from the government, without excluding them by violence from the Legislature. One man alone, and he the least inimical of all to the Girondins, might nevertheless have been suspected. He had unbounded influence over the Cordeliers, the authors of the commotion. He had no animosity against the members of the right side; but he disliked their system of moderation, which, in his opinion, retarded the action of the government. He was bent on having, at any price, an extraordinary tribunal and a supreme committee which should exercise an irresistible dictatorship, because he was solicitous, above all things, for the success of the Revolution; and it is possible that he secretly instigated the agitators of the 10th of March, with a view to intimidate the Girondins, and to overcome their resistance. It is certain, at least, that he did not take the trouble to disavow the authors of the disturbance, and that, on the contrary, he renewed his urgent demands that the government should be organized in a prompt and terrible manner.

Be this as it may, it was agreed that the aristocrats were the secret instigators of these movements. This everybody believed, or pretended to believe. Vergniaud, in a speech of persuasive eloquence,† in which he denounced the whole

* "Never through the whole course of the Revolution did the working-classes of Paris rise into tumult and violence, except when driven to it by misery and hunger—hunger, the most imperative of wants, which blinds the eye and deafens the ear to all other considerations, and ripens the fruits sown by an improvident government—despair and revolt!"—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

† "We are marching," exclaimed Vergniaud, 'from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. The great body of citizens are so blinded by their frequent occurrence that they confound these seditious disturbances with the grand national movement in favour of freedom; regard the violence of brigands as the efforts of energetic minds; and consider robbery itself as indispensable for public freedom. Citizens, there is but too much reason to dread that the Revolution, like Saturn, will successively devour all its progeny, and finally leave only despotism, with all its attendant calamities.'"—*Mignet*.

conspiracy, supposed the same thing. He was censured, it is true, by Louvet, who would have been pleased to see the Jacobins more directly attacked; but he carried his motion that the first exercise of the powers of the extraordinary tribunal should consist in prosecuting the authors of the 10th of March. The minister of justice, who was required to make a report of the occurrences, declared that he had nowhere discovered the revolutionary committee to which they were attributed; that he had perceived nothing but the agitation of clubs, and propositions made in a moment of enthusiasm. The only more precise circumstance that he had detected was a meeting of some of the members of the Cordeliers at the Corraza coffee-house. These members of the Cordeliers were Lasouski, Fournier, Gusman, Desfiens, Varlet, the usual agitators of the sections. They met after the sittings to converse on political topics. Nobody attached any importance to this revelation; and as deep-laid plots were presumed, the meeting of so few subordinate persons at the Corraza coffee-house appeared merely ridiculous.

Such was the state of things when Dumouriez, on his return from Holland, rejoined his army at Louvain. We have seen him exerting his authority against the commissioners of the executive power, and with all his might opposing Jacobinism, which was striving to introduce itself into Belgium. To all these steps he added one still bolder, which could not fail to lead him to the same point as Lafayette. He wrote on the 12th of March a letter to the Convention, in which, recurring to the disorganization of the armies produced by Pache and the Jacobins, the decree of the 15th of December, and the vexations practised upon the Belgians, he imputed all the present evils to the disorganizing spirit communicated by Paris to the rest of France, and by France to the countries liberated by our armies. This letter, full of boldness, and still more of remonstrances not within the province of a general to make, reached the committee of general safety at the moment when so many accusations were preferred against Dumouriez, and when continual efforts were being made to maintain him in the popular favour, and to attach him to the republic. This letter was kept secret, and Danton was sent to prevail upon him to withdraw it.

Dumouriez rallied his army in advance of Louvain, drew together his scattered columns, and sent off a corps upon his right to guard the Campine, and to connect his operations with the rear of the army endangered in Holland. Immediately afterwards he determined to resume the offensive, in order to

revive the confidence of his troops. The Prince of Coburg, after securing the course of the Meuse from Liege to Maestricht, and proceeding beyond that place to St. Trond, had ordered Tirlemont to be occupied by an advanced corps. Dumouriez caused that town to be retaken; and perceiving that the enemy had not thought of guarding the important position of Goidsenhoven, which commands the whole tract between the two Gettes, he despatched thither a few battalions, which made themselves masters of it without difficulty. On the following day, March 16th, the enemy, desirous of recovering that lost position, attacked it with great vigour. Dumouriez, anticipating this, sent reinforcements to support it, and was particularly solicitous to raise the spirits of his troops by this combat. The imperialists, being repulsed with the loss of seven or eight hundred men, recrossed the Little Gette, and took up position between the villages of Neerlanden, Landen, Neerwinden, Overwinden, and Racour. The French, emboldened by this advantage, placed themselves, on their side, in front of Tirlemont, and in several villages situated on the left of the Little Gette, which became the boundary line of the two armies.

Dumouriez now resolved to fight a pitched battle, and this intention was as judicious as it was bold. Methodical warfare was not suited to his as yet almost undisciplined troops. He was anxious to confer lustre on our arms, to give confidence to the Convention, to attach the Belgians to himself, to bring the enemy back beyond the Meuse, to fix him there for a time, and then to fly once more to Holland, to penetrate into one of the capitals of the coalition and carry revolution into it. To these projects Dumouriez added, as he asserts, the re-establishment of the constitution of 1791, and the overthrow of the demagogues, with the assistance of the Dutch and of his army; but this addition is false on this occasion, as at the moment when he was on the Moerdyk. All that was judicious, possible, and true in his plan related to the recovery of his influence, the re-establishing of our arms, and the following up of his military projects after gaining a victory. The reviving ardour of his army, his military position, all inspired him with a well-founded hope of success. Besides, it was necessary to risk much in his situation, and it would be wrong to hesitate.

Our army was spread over a front of two leagues, and bordered the Little Gette from Neer-Heylissen to Leaw. Dumouriez resolved to operate a rotatory movement, which should bring back the enemy between Leaw and St. Trond. His left was supported on the Leaw as on a pivot; his right was to turn by Neer-Heylissen, Racour, and Landen, and to

oblige the Austrians to fall back before it to St. Trond. For this purpose it would be necessary to cross the Little Gette, to climb its steep banks, to take Leaw, Orsmaël, Neerwinden, Overwinden, and Racour. The last three villages, facing our right, which was to pass through them in its rotatory movement, formed the principal point of attack. Dumouriez, dividing his right into three columns, under the command of Valence, directed them to pass the Gette at the bridge of Neer-Heylissen. One was to rush upon the enemy, the other to advance briskly upon the elevated knoll of Middelwinden, to dash down from that height upon the village of Overwinden, and to take possession of it; while the third was to attack the village of Neerwinden, by its right. The centre, under the Duc de Chartres, composed of two columns, was to cross by the bridge of Esemaël, to pass through Laer, and attack in front Neerwinden, already threatened on its first flank by the third column. Lastly, the left, under the command of Miranda, was to divide into two or three columns, to occupy Leaw and Orsmaël, and to maintain its ground there; while the centre and the right, marching on after the victory, should effect the rotatory movement which was the object of the battle.

These arrangements were determined upon in the evening of the 17th. Next day, the 18th, at nine in the morning, the whole army broke up in order, and with ardour. The Gette was crossed at all the points. Miranda sent Champmorin to occupy Leaw, and he himself took Orsmaël, and opened a cannonade upon the enemy, who had retired to the heights of Halle, and strongly entrenched himself there. The object was attained on this point. In the centre and on the right the movement was effected at the same hour. The two parts of the army passed through Elissem, Esemaël, Neer-Heylissen, and in spite of a galling fire, climbed with great courage the steep heights bordering the Gette. The column of the extreme right passed through Racour, entered the plain, and instead of extending itself there, as it had been ordered, committed the blunder of turning back to Overwinden in quest of the enemy. The second column of the right, after having been retarded in its march, rushed with heroic impetuosity upon the elevated knoll of Middelwinden, and drove the imperialists from it; but instead of establishing itself there in force, it merely passed on and took possession of Overwinden. The third column entered Neerwinden, and in consequence of a misunderstanding, committed another blunder—that of extending itself too soon beyond the village, and thereby running the risk of being driven out of it by a return of the imperialists. The French

army had nevertheless nearly attained its object; but the Prince of Coburg, having at the outset been guilty of the fault of not attacking our troops at the moment when they were crossing the Gette and climbing its steep banks, repaired it by giving a general order to resume the abandoned positions. A superior force was advancing upon our left against Miranda. Clairfayt, taking advantage of the faults committed on our side—inasmuch as the first column had not persisted in attacking him, the second had not established itself on the knoll of Middelwinden, and the third and the two composing the centre had crowded themselves confusedly into Neerwinden—crossed the plain of Landen, retook Racour, the knoll of Middelwinden, Overwinden, and Neerwinden.

At this moment the French were in a perilous position. Dislodged from all the points which they had occupied, driven back to the margin of the heights, attacked on their right, cannonaded on their front by a superior artillery, threatened by two corps of cavalry, and having a river in their rear, they might have been destroyed, and this would certainly have happened had the enemy, instead of directing the greater part of his force upon their left, pushed their centre and their right more vigorously. Dumouriez hastened up to this threatened point, rallied his columns, caused the knoll of Middelwinden to be retaken, and then proceeded upon Neerwinden, which had already been twice taken by the French, and twice retaken by the imperialists. Dumouriez entered it for the third time after a horrible carnage. This unfortunate village was choked up with men and horses, and in the confusion of the attack our troops had crowded together there in the utmost disorder. Dumouriez, aware of the danger, abandoned this spot, encumbered with human carcasses, and re-formed his columns at some distance from the village. There, surrounding himself with artillery, he prepared to maintain his ground on the field of battle. At this moment two columns of cavalry rushed upon him—one from Neerwinden, the other from Overwinden. Valence met the first at the head of the French cavalry, charged it with impetuosity, repulsed it, and covered with glorious wounds, was obliged to relinquish his command to the Duc de Chartres. General Thonvenot coolly received the second, and suffered it to advance into the midst of our infantry, which he directed to open its ranks; he then suddenly ordered a double discharge of grape and musketry, which cut up and nearly annihilated the imperial cavalry, who had advanced close to the muzzles of the guns. Dumouriez thus remained master of the field of battle, and established himself there

for the purpose of completing his rotatory movement on the following day.

The conflict had been sanguinary; but the most difficult part of the business seemed to be accomplished. The left, established ever since the morning at Leaw and Orsmaël, was not likely to have anything more to do; and the fire having ceased at two in the afternoon, Dumouriez conceived that it had maintained its ground. He considered himself as victorious, since he occupied the whole field of battle. Meanwhile night approached; the right and the centre kindled their fires, but no officer had yet come from Miranda to inform Dumouriez of what was passing on his left flank. He then began to entertain doubts, which soon grew into alarm. He set out on horseback with two officers and two attendants, and found the village of Laer abandoned by Dampierre, who commanded under the Duc de Chartres one of the columns of the centre. Dumouriez there learned that the left, in utter confusion, had recrossed the Gette, and fled to Tirlemont; and that Dampierre, finding himself then uncovered, had fallen back to the post which he occupied in the morning before the battle. He set out at full speed, accompanied by his two servants and the two officers, narrowly escaped being taken by the Austrian hulans, arrived about midnight at Tirlemont, and found Miranda, who had fallen back two leagues from the field of battle, and whom Valence, conveyed thither in consequence of his wounds, was in vain persuading to advance. Miranda, having entered Orsmaël in the morning, had been attacked at the moment when the imperialists retook all their positions. The greatest part of the enemy's force had advanced upon his wing, which, partly composed of the national volunteers, had dispersed and fled to Tirlemont. Miranda had been hurried along, and had not had either time or power to rally his men, though Miaczinsky had come to his aid with a body of fresh troops; he had not even thought to acquaint the commander-in-chief of the circumstance. As for Champmorin, placed at Leaw with the last column, he had maintained himself there till evening, and had not thought of returning to Bingen, his point of departure, till towards the close of the day.

The French army thus found itself separated, one part in rear of the Gette, the other in front; and if the enemy, less intimidated by so obstinate an action, had thought of following up his advantages, he might have cut our line, annihilated our right, encamped at Neerwinden, and put to flight the left, which had already fallen back. Dumouriez, undismayed, coolly

resolved upon retreat, and next morning prepared to execute his intention. For this purpose he took upon himself the command of Miranda's wing, endeavoured to inspire it with some courage, and was desirous to push it forward, in order to keep the enemy in check on the left of the line, while the centre and right, commencing their retreat, should attempt to recross the Gette. Luckily, Dampierre, who had recrossed the Gette on the same day with a column of the centre, supported the movement of Dumouriez, and conducted himself with equal skill and courage. Dumouriez, still in the midst of his battalions, supported them, and resolved to lead them to the heights of Wommersem, which they had occupied the evening before the battle. The Austrians had since placed batteries there, and kept up a destructive fire from that point. Dumouriez put himself at the head of his disheartened soldiers, and made them sensible that it was better to attempt the attack than to receive a continued fire; that they would be quit for one charge, which would be much less galling to them than this dead immobility in presence of an overwhelming artillery. Twice he prevailed upon them, and twice they halted, as if discouraged by the remembrance of the preceding day; but while they bore with heroic constancy the fire from the heights of Wommersem, they had not that much more easy courage to charge with the bayonet. At this moment a ball struck the general's horse. He was thrown down and covered with mould. His terrified soldiers were ready to flee at this sight; but he rose with extreme agility, mounted another horse, and continued to keep them on the field of battle.

The Duc de Chartres was meanwhile effecting the retreat of the right and half of the centre. Conducting his four columns with equal skill and intrepidity, he coolly retired before a formidable enemy, and crossed the three bridges of the Gette without sustaining any loss. Dumouriez then drew back his left wing, as well as Dampierre's column, and returned to the positions of the preceding day, in presence of an enemy filled with admiration of his masterly retreat. On the 19th the army found itself, as on the 17th, between Hackendoven and Goidsenhoven, but with a loss of four thousand killed, with a desertion of more than ten thousand fugitives, who were already hurrying towards the interior, and with the discouragement of a lost battle.*

Dumouriez, consumed by vexation, agitated by conflicting

* "The position of the French commander was now extremely critical. His volunteers left their colours on the first serious reverses; and whole companies and battalions, with their arms and baggage, went off in a body towards the

sentiments, sometimes thought of combating the Austrians to the last extremity, and sometimes of destroying the faction of the Jacobins, to whom he attributed the disorganization and the reverses of his army. In the height of his spleen he inveighed bitterly against the tyranny of Paris, and his expressions, repeated by his staff, were circulated throughout the whole army. Though under the influence of a singular confusion of mind, he did not lose the coolness necessary for a retreat: and he made the best dispositions for occupying Belgium for a considerable time by means of the fortresses, if he should be obliged to evacuate it with his armies. In consequence he ordered General d'Harville to throw a strong garrison into the citadel of Namur, and to maintain himself there with one division. He sent General Ruault to Antwerp to collect the twenty thousand men belonging to the expedition against Holland, and to guard the Scheldt, while strong garrisons should occupy Breda and Gertruydenburg. His aim was thus to form a semicircle of fortresses, passing through Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtrai, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenburg: to place himself in the centre of this semicircle, and await the reinforcements necessary for acting more energetically. On the 22nd he was engaged before Louvain in an action of position with the imperialists, which was as serious as that of Goidsenhoven, and cost them as many men.

In the evening he had an interview with Colonel Mack,* an officer of the enemy, who exercised great influence over the operations of the Allies, from the reputation which he enjoyed in Germany. They agreed not to fight any more decisive battles, to follow one another slowly and in good order, and to spare the blood of the soldiers, and the countries which were the theatre of the war. This kind of armistice, most favourable to the French, who would have dispersed had they been briskly attacked, was also perfectly suited to the timid system of the coalition, which, after having recovered the Meuse, meant to attempt nothing decisive before the reduction of Mayence. Such was the first negotiation of Dumouriez with the enemy. The politeness of Colonel Mack and his winning manners might have disposed the deeply agitated mind of the general to have recourse to foreign aid. He began to perceive no prospect in the career which he was pursuing. If, a few months before,

French frontier, spreading dismay over all the roads leading to France. The French troops are the best in the world to advance and gain conquests; but they have not, till injured by discipline and experience, the steadiness requisite to preserve them."—*Alison*.

* See Appendix UUU.

he foresaw success, glory, and influence in commanding the French armies, and if this hope rendered him more indulgent towards revolutionary violence; now, beaten, stripped of his popularity, and attributing the disorganization of his army to this same violence, he viewed with horror the disorders which he might formerly have regarded only with indifference. Bred in Courts, having seen with his own eyes how strongly organized a machine is requisite to ensure the durability of a State, he could not conceive that insurgent citizens were adequate to an operation so complicated as that of government. In such a situation, if a general, at once an administrator and a warrior, holds the power in his hands, he can scarcely fail to conceive the idea of employing it to put an end to the disorders which haunt his thoughts and even threaten his person.

Dumouriez was bold enough to conceive such an idea; and having no further prospect of serving the Revolution by victories, he thought of forming another for himself, by bringing back this Revolution to the constitution of 1791, and reconciling it at this price with all Europe. In this plan a king would have been required, and men were of so little importance to Dumouriez that he did not care much about the choice. He was charged at that time with a design to place the house of Orleans on the throne. What led to this surmise was his affection for the Duc de Chartres, to whom he had contrived to give the most brilliant part in the army. But this proof was very insignificant, for the young Duc had deserved all that he had obtained, and besides, there was nothing in his conduct that demonstrated a concert with Dumouriez.

Another consideration generally prevailed, namely, that at the moment there was no other possible choice, in case of the creation of a new dynasty. The son of the deceased King was too young, and besides, regicide did not admit of so prompt a reconciliation with the dynasty. The uncles were in a state of hostility; and there remained but the branch of Orleans, as much compromised in the Revolution as the Jacobins themselves, and alone capable of dispelling all the fears of the Revolutionists. If the agitated mind of Dumouriez was decided in its choice, it could not then have made any other; and it was these considerations which caused him to be accused of an intention to seat the Orleans family on the throne. He denied it after his emigration; but this interested denial proves nothing, and he is no more to be believed on this point than in regard to the anterior date which he has pretended to give to his plans. He meant, in fact, to assert that he had long been thinking of revolting against the Jacobins;

but this assertion is false. It was not till then, that is, till the career of success was closed against him, that he thought of opening to himself another. In this scheme were blended personal resentment, mortification on account of his reverses, and lastly, a sincere but tardy indignation against the endless disorders which he now foresaw without any illusion.

On the 22nd he found at Louvain, Danton and Lacroix, who came to call him to account for the letter written on the 12th of March to the Convention, and kept secret by the committee of general safety. Danton, with whom he sympathized, hoped to bring him back to calmer sentiments, and to attach him again to the common cause. But Dumouriez treated the two commissioners and Danton himself with great petulance, and even betrayed the most untoward disposition. He broke out into fresh complaints against the Convention and the Jacobins, and would not retract his letter. He merely consented to add a few words, saying that at a future time he would explain himself. Danton and Lacroix returned without obtaining from him any concession, and left him in the most violent agitation.

On the 23rd, after a firm resistance during the whole day, several corps abandoned their posts, and he was obliged to quit Louvain in disorder. Fortunately the enemy was not aware of this movement, and did not avail himself of the opportunity to throw our army into complete confusion by pursuing it. Dumouriez then separated the troops of the line from the volunteers, united the former with the artillery, and composed with them a *corps d'élite* of fifteen thousand men, with which he took his place in the rearguard. There, showing himself among his soldiers, skirmishing all day along with them, he succeeded in giving a firmer attitude to his retreat. He caused Brussels to be evacuated in good order, passed through that city on the 25th, and on the 27th encamped at Ath. There he had fresh conferences with Mack, was treated by him with great delicacy and respect, and this interview, which had no other object than to regulate the details of the armistice, soon changed into a more important negotiation. Dumouriez communicated all his resentments to the foreign colonel, and disclosed to him his plans for overthrowing the National Convention. Here, hurried away by resentment, excited by the idea of a general disorganization, the saviour of France in the Argonne tarnished his glory by treating with an enemy, whose ambition ought to have rendered all his intentions suspicious, and whose power was then the most dangerous for us. In these difficult situations the man of genius has, as we have already observed,

but one alternative—either to retire and to abdicate all influence, that he may not be the accomplice of a system of which he disapproves; or to keep aloof from the evil which he cannot prevent, and do one thing, and one only, ever moral, ever glorious—labour for the defence of his country.

Dumouriez agreed with Colonel Mack that there should be a suspension of hostilities between the two armies; that the imperialists should advance upon Paris, while he should himself march thither; that the evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this compliance; that the fortress of Condé should be temporarily given up as a guarantee; that in case Dumouriez should have occasion for the Austrians, they should be placed at his disposal; that the fortresses should receive garrisons, composed one half of imperialists, the other of French, but under the command of French officers; and that at the peace all the fortresses should be restored. Such were the guilty engagements contracted by Dumouriez with the Prince of Coburg, through the medium of Colonel Mack.

Nothing was yet known in Paris but the defeat of Neerwinden, and the successive evacuation of Belgium. The loss of a great battle, and a precipitate retreat, concurring with the news which had been received from the West, caused there the greatest agitation. A plot had been discovered at Rennes, and it appeared to have been hatched by the English, the Breton gentry, and the nonjuring priests. Commotions had already broken out in the West on account of the dearth of provisions, and the threat of cutting off the salaries of the ministers of religion; but now it was for the avowed motive of absolute monarchy. Bands of peasants, demanding the re-establishment of the clergy and of the Bourbons, had made their appearance in the environs of Rennes and Nantes. Orleans was in full insurrection, and Bourdon, the representative, had been nearly murdered in that city. The insurgents already amounted to several thousand men. It would require nothing less than armies and generals to reduce them. The great towns despatched their national guards. General Labourdonnaye advanced with his corps, and everything foreboded a civil war of the most sanguinary kind. Thus, on the one hand, our armies were retreating before the coalition; on the other, La Vendée was rising,* and never ought the ordinary agitation produced by danger to have been greater.

* "After the 10th of August a persecution of the priests in La Vendée began; and the peasants, like the Cameronians in Scotland, gathered together, arms in hand, to hear mass in the field, and die in defending their spiritual fathers. More than forty parishes assembled tumultuously. The national guards of the Plain

It was about this period, and in consequence of the 10th of March, that a conference between the leaders of the two opinions in the committee of general safety was brought about for the purpose of mutual explanations respecting the motives of their dissensions. It was Danton who instigated this interview. Quarrels did not gratify animosities which he harboured not, but exposed him to a discussion of conduct which he dreaded, and checked the progress of the Revolution, which was so dear to him. He wished, therefore, to put an end to them. He had shown great sincerity in the different conversations, and if he took the initiative, if he accused the Girondins, it was in order to obviate the reproaches which might have been directed against himself. The Girondins, such as Buzot, Guadet, Vergniaud, and Gensonné, with their accustomed delicacy, justified themselves as if the accusation had been serious, and preached to one already converted in arguing with Danton. The case was quite different with Robespierre. By endeavouring to convince, they only irritated him; and they strove to demonstrate his errors, as if that demonstration ought to have appeased him. As for Marat, who had deemed himself necessary at these conferences, no one had deigned to enter into any explanation with him; nay, his very friends never spoke to him, that they might not have to justify themselves for this alliance. Such conferences tended to embitter rather than soothe the opposite leaders. Had they succeeded in convincing each other of their reciprocal faults, such a demonstration would assuredly not have reconciled them. Matters had arrived at this point when the events in Belgium became known in Paris.

Both parties instantly began to accuse each other. They reproached one another with contributing to the public disasters, the one by disorganizing the government, the other party by striving to retard its action. Explanations relative to the conduct of Dumouriez were demanded. The letter of the 12th of March, which had been kept secret, was read; it produced outcries that Dumouriez was betraying the country, that he was evidently pursuing the same line of conduct as Lafayette had done, and that, after his example, he was beginning his treason by insolent letters to the Assembly. A second letter,

routed this ill-armed crowd, and slew about one hundred in the field. Life and free pardon were offered to others if they would only cry '*Vive la Nation!*' but there were few who would accept of life on these terms. As yet, however, the tumults were merely partial; but when the Convention called for a conscription of three hundred thousand men, a measure which would have forced the people to fight for a cause which they abhorred, one feeling of indignation rose through the whole country, and the insurrection through all La Vendée broke forth simultaneously, and without concert or plan."—*Quarterly Review*.

written on the 27th of March, and even bolder than that of the 12th, excited still stronger suspicions. Danton was urged on all sides to state what he knew of Dumouriez. Every one was aware that these two men had a partiality for each other, that Danton had insisted on keeping secret the letter of the 12th of March, and that he had gone to persuade Dumouriez to retract it. Some even asserted that they had committed peculations together in opulent Belgium. At the Jacobins, in the committee of general defence, in the Assembly, Danton was called upon to explain himself. Perplexed by the suspicions of the Girondins, and by the doubts of the Mountaineers themselves, Danton felt, for the first time, some difficulty in replying. He said that the great talents of Dumouriez had appeared to deserve some indulgence; that it had been deemed proper to see him before denouncing him, in order to convince him of his errors, and to bring him back, if possible, to better sentiments; that thus far the commissioners had regarded his conduct as the effect of evil suggestions, and of vexation on account of his late reverses; but that they had believed, and they did still believe, that his talents might be retained for the republic.

Robespierre said that, if this were the case, he ought not to be treated with any indulgence, and that it was useless to show him such forbearance. He renewed, moreover, the motion which Louvet had made against the Bourbons who had remained in France, that is to say, against the members of the Orleans family; and it appeared strange that Robespierre, who in January had so warmly defended them against the Girondins, should now attack them with such fury. But his suspicious mind had instantly surmised sinister plots. He had said to himself: A man who was once a prince of the blood cannot submit with resignation to his new condition, and though he calls himself *Egalité*, his sacrifice cannot be sincere. He is conspiring, then, and, in fact, all our generals belong to him. Biron, who commands at the Alps, is his intimate friend; Valence, general of the army of the Ardennes, is the son-in-law of his confidant, Sillery; his two sons hold the first rank in the army of Belgium; lastly, Dumouriez is openly devoted to them, and is training them with particular care. The Girondins attacked in January the family of Orleans; but it was a feint on their part, which had no other aim than to obviate all suspicion of connivance. Brissot, a friend of Sillery, is the go-between of the conspiracy. There is the whole plot laid open: the throne will be again raised, and France

undone, if we do not make haste to proscribe the conspirators. Such were the conjectures of Robespierre; and what is most frightful in this manner of reasoning is, that Robespierre, influenced by hatred, believed these calumnies.* The astonished Mountain repelled his suggestions. "Give us proofs, then," said those who were seated by his side. "Proofs!" he replied, "proofs! I have none; but I have the *moral conviction!*"

It was immediately proposed, as is always the case in moments of danger, to accelerate the action of the executive power and that of the tribunals, in order to guard at once against what was called the external and internal enemy.

The commissioners appointed for the recruiting were therefore instantly despatched, and the question whether the Convention ought not to take a greater share in the execution of the laws was investigated. The manner in which the executive power was organized appeared insufficient. Ministers, placed out of the pale of the Assembly, acting upon their own motion, and under its very remote superintendence; a committee charged to make reports on all measures of general security; all these authorities controlling one another, and eternally deliberating without acting, appeared quite inadequate to the immense task which they had to perform. Moreover, this ministry, these committees, were composed of members suspected, because they were moderate; and at this time, when promptness and energy were indispensable conditions of success, any dilatoriness, any moderation, induced suspicions of conspiracy. It was therefore proposed to institute a committee which should unite in itself the functions of the diplomatic committee, of the military committee, and of the committee of general safety, which should be authorized, in case of need, to order and to act upon its own motion, and to check or to make amends for the ministerial action.

Various plans of organization were presented for accomplishing this object, and referred to a committee appointed to discuss them. Immediately afterwards the Assembly directed its attention to the means of reaching the internal enemy, that is, *the aristocrats, the traitors*, by whom it was said to be surrounded. "France"—such was the cry—"is full of refractory priests, of nobles, of their former creatures, of their old servants; and these retainers, still numerous, surround us, betray us, and threaten us as dangerously as

* See Appendix VVV.

the hostile bayonets. It behoves us to discover them, to mark them, and to throw upon them a light which shall prevent them from acting." The Jacobins had therefore proposed, and the Convention had decreed, that according to a custom borrowed from China, the names of all persons dwelling in a house should be inscribed on the door. It was next enacted that all *suspected* citizens should be disarmed, and all non-juring priests, the nobles, the late seigneurs, the dismissed functionaries, &c., were designated as such. This disarming was to be effected by means of domiciliary visits; and the only mitigation attached to this measure was, that the visits should not take place at night.

Having thus ensured the means of discovering and reaching all those who gave the least umbrage, the Assembly finally added the means of striking them in the most speedy manner by installing the revolutionary tribunal. It was on the motion of Danton that this terrible instrument of revolutionary suspicion was set to work. That formidable man was well aware of the abuse to which it was liable; but he had sacrificed everything to the object. He well knew that to strike quickly is to examine less attentively; that to examine less attentively is to run the risk of mistake, especially in times of party virulence; and that to commit a mistake is to commit an atrocious injustice. But in his view the Revolution was society accelerating its action in all things—in matters of justice, of administration, and of war. In tranquil times, said he, society chooses rather to let the guilty one escape than to strike the innocent, because the guilty one is not very dangerous; but in proportion as he becomes more so, it tends more to secure him; and when he becomes so dangerous as to have it in his power to destroy it, or at least when it believes so, it strikes all that excite its suspicions, and then deems it better to punish an innocent man than to let a guilty one escape. Such is the dictatorship, that is, the violent action in societies when threatened. It is rapid, arbitrary, faulty, but irresistible.

Thus the concentration of powers in the Convention, the installation of the revolutionary tribunal, the commencement of the inquisition against suspected persons, and redoubled hatred against the deputies who opposed these extraordinary measures, were the result of the battle of Neerwinden, the retreat from Belgium, the threats of Dumouriez, and the insurrection in La Vendée.*

The ill-humour of Dumouriez had increased with his reverses.

* See Appendix WWW.

He had just learned that the army of Holland was retreating in disorder, abandoning Antwerp and the Scheldt, and leaving the two French garrisons in Breda and Gertruydenburg; that d'Harville had not been able to keep the citadel of Namur, and was falling back upon Givet and Maubeuge; lastly, that Neuilly, so far from being able to maintain himself at Mons, had been obliged to retire upon Condé and Valenciennes, because his division, instead of taking position on the heights of Nimy, had plundered the magazines and fled. Thus by the disorders of that army he beheld the frustration of his plan of forming in Belgium a semicircle of fortresses which should pass from Namur into Flanders and Holland, and in the centre of which he meant to place himself in order to act with the greater advantage. He would soon have nothing to offer in exchange to the imperialists, and as he grew weaker he would sink into dependence upon them. His indignation increased as he approached France, and had a closer view of the disorders, and heard the cries raised against him. He no longer used any concealment; and the language which he used in the presence of his staff, and which was repeated in the army, indicated the projects that were fermenting in his head. The sister of the Duc de Chartres, and Madame de Sillery, flying from the proscriptions which threatened them, had repaired to Belgium to seek protection from the brothers of the former. They were at Ath, and this circumstance furnished fresh food for suspicion.

Three Jacobin emissaries, one named Dubuisson, a refugee from Brussels, Proly, a natural son of Kaunitz, and Pereyra, a Portuguese Jew, arrived at Ath, upon the pretext, whether false or true, of a mission from Lebrun. They introduced themselves to the general as spies of the government, and had no difficulty to discover plans which Dumouriez no longer concealed. They found him surrounded by General Valence and the sons of the Duc d'Orleans, were very uncourteously received, and addressed in language anything but flattering to the Jacobins and the Convention. Next day, however, they returned and had a private interview. On this occasion Dumouriez expressed himself without reserve. He began by telling them that he was strong enough to fight in front and rear; that the Convention was composed of two hundred brigands and six hundred idiots; and that he laughed at its decrees, whose validity would soon be confined to the district of Paris. "As for the revolutionary tribunal," he added, with rising indignation, "I will find means to put it down; and while I have three inches of steel by my side, that monster

shall not exist." He then launched out against the volunteers, whom he called cowards; he said that he would have none but troops of the line, and that with them he would go and put an end to the disorders in Paris. "Would you do away then with the constitution?" inquired the three interlocutors. "The new constitution devised by Condorcet is too silly." "And what will you set up in its place?" "The old one of 1791, bad as it is." "But then you must have a king, and the name of Louis is an abomination." "Whether his name is Louis or Jacques is of no consequence." "Or Philippe," added one of the envoys. "But how will you replace the present Assembly?" Dumouriez considered for a moment, and then replied: "There are local administrations, all chosen by the confidence of the nation; and the five hundred presidents of districts shall be the five hundred representatives." "But before their meeting, who shall have the initiative of this revolution?" "The Mamelukes, that is, my army. It will express this wish; the presidents of districts will cause it to be confirmed; and I will make peace with the coalition, which, unless I stop it, will be in Paris in a fortnight."

The three envoys, whether, as Dumouriez conceived, they came to sound him on behalf of the Jacobins, or wished to induce him to reveal still more of his schemes, then suggested an idea. "Why," said they, "not put the Jacobins, who are a deliberative body ready prepared, in the place of the Convention?" At these words indignation mingled with contempt overspread the face of the general, and they dropped their proposition. They then spoke to him concerning the danger to which his plan would expose the Bourbons confined in the Temple, and for whom he appeared to interest himself. Dumouriez immediately replied that were they to perish to the very last of them, in Paris and at Coblenz, France would find a chief and be saved; that, moreover, if Paris should commit any fresh barbarities on the unfortunate prisoners in the Temple, he would presently be there, and that with twelve thousand men he would be master of the city. He would not imitate the idiot Broglie, who with thirty thousand men had suffered the Bastille to be taken; but with two posts, at Nogent and Pont St. Maxence, he would starve the Parisians. "Your Jacobins," added he, "have it in their power to atone for all their crimes. Let them save the unfortunate prisoners, and drive out the seven hundred and forty-five tyrants of the Convention, and they shall be forgiven."

His visitors then adverted to his danger. "I shall always have time enough," said he, "to gallop off to the Austrians."

“Would you then share the fate of Lafayette?” “I shall go over to the enemy in a very different way from what he did; besides, the powers have a very different opinion of my talents, and cannot reproach me with the 5th and 6th of October.”

Dumouriez had reason not to dread the fate of Lafayette. His talents were rated too highly, and the firmness of his principles not highly enough, to cause him to be confined at Olmütz. The three envoys left him, saying that they would go and sound Paris and the Jacobins on the subject.

Dumouriez, though he believed his visitors to be staunch Jacobins, had not on that account expressed his sentiments the less boldly. At this moment, in fact, his plans became evident. The troops of the line and the volunteers watched each other with suspicion, and everything indicated that he was on the point of hoisting the standard of revolt.

The executive power had received alarming reports, and the committee of general welfare had proposed and obtained a decree summoning Dumouriez to the bar. Four commissioners, accompanied by the minister at war, were directed to proceed to the army, to notify the decree, and to bring the general to Paris. These four commissioners were Bancal, Quinette, Camus, and Lamarque.* Beurnonville had joined them, and his part was a difficult one, on account of the friendship which subsisted between him and Dumouriez.

These commissioners set out on the 30th of March. The same day Dumouriez moved to the field of Bruille, where he threatened at once the three important fortresses of Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes. He was quite undecided what course to pursue, for his army was divided in opinion. The artillery, the troops of the line, and the cavalry, all the organized corps, appeared to be devoted to him; but the national volunteers began to murmur, and to separate themselves from the others. In this situation he had but one expedient—to disarm the volunteers. But this exposed him to the risk of a battle, and the issue would be precarious, for the troops of the line might feel repugnance to slaughter their comrades. Besides, among these volunteers there were some who had fought well, and who appeared to be attached to him. Hesitating as to this measure of severity, he considered how to make himself master of the three fortresses amidst which he was posted. By means of them he should have supplies, and a point of support against Paris, and against the enemy, of whom he still had a distrust. But in these three places the

* See Appendix XXX.

public opinion was divided. The popular societies, aided by the volunteers, had there risen against him, and threatened the troops of the line. At Valenciennes and Lille the commissioners of the Convention excited the zeal of the republicans; and in Condé alone the influence of Neuilly's division gave his partisans the advantage. Among the generals of division Dampierre behaved towards him as he had himself behaved towards Lafayette after the 10th of August; and several others, without as yet declaring themselves, were ready to abandon him.

On the 31st, six volunteers, having the words *Republic or Death* written with chalk upon their hats, met him in his camp, and seemed to entertain a design to secure his person. Assisted by his faithful Baptiste, he kept them at bay, and gave them into the custody of his hussars. This occurrence produced a great sensation in the army; the different corps presented to him in the course of the day addresses which renewed his confidence. He instantly raised the standard, and detached Miaczinsky with a few thousand men to march upon Lille. Miaczinsky advanced upon that place, and communicated the secret of his enterprise to St. George, a mulatto, who commanded a regiment of the garrison. The latter advised Miaczinsky to enter the town with a small escort. The unfortunate general suffered himself to be persuaded, and no sooner had he entered Lille than he was surrounded and delivered up to the authorities. The gates were closed, and the division wandered about without commander on the glacis of Lille. Dumouriez immediately sent an aide-de-camp to rally it; but the aide-de-camp was taken also, and the division, being dispersed, was lost to him. After this unfortunate attempt, he made a similar one upon Valenciennes, where General Ferrand* commanded. That general he thought very favourably disposed towards him. But the officer sent to surprise the place betrayed his plans, joined Ferrand and the commissioners of the Convention, and that fortress also was lost to him. Thus Condé alone was left. Placed between France and the enemy, he had but this last point of support. If he lost that he must submit to the imperialists, he must put himself entirely into their hands, and he must run the risk of causing his army to revolt by directing them to march along with it.

On the 1st of April he transferred his headquarters to the marshes of St. Amand, that he might be nearer to Condé. He ordered Lecointre, son of the deputy of Versailles, to be

* See Appendix YYY.

arrested, and sent him as an hostage to Tournay, begging Clairfayt, the Austrian, to keep him as a deposit in the citadel. On the evening of the 2nd the four deputies of the Convention, preceded by Beurnonville, arrived at the quarters of Dumouriez. The Berchiny hussars were drawn up before the door, and all his staff were around him. Dumouriez first embraced his friend Beurnonville, and asked the deputies the object of their mission. They refused to explain themselves before such a number of officers, whose dispositions appeared to be far from satisfactory, and wished to step into an adjoining apartment. Dumouriez consented; but the officers insisted that the door should be left open. Camus then read the decree, and enjoined him to submit to it. Dumouriez replied that the state of his army required his presence, and that when it was reorganized he would see how he ought to act. Camus insisted with emphasis; but Dumouriez replied that he would not be such a dupe as to go to Paris and give himself up to the revolutionary tribunal; that tigers were demanding his head, but he would not give it to them. To no purpose did the four commissioners assure him that no harm was intended to his person, that they would be answerable for his safety, that this step would satisfy the Convention, and that he should soon return to his army. He would not listen to anything, begged them not to drive him to extremity, and told them that they had better issue a moderate resolution (*arrêté*) declaring that General Dumouriez had appeared to them too necessary to be withdrawn from his army. As he finished these words he retired, enjoining them to come to a decision. He then went back with Beurnonville to the room where he had left his staff, and waited among his officers for the resolution (*arrêté*) of the commissioners. The latter, with noble firmness, came out a moment afterwards, and repeated their summons. "Will you obey the Convention?" said Camus. "No," replied the general. "Well, then," replied Camus, "you are suspended from your functions; your papers will be seized, and your person secured." "It is too bad!" exclaimed Dumouriez. "This way, hussars!" The hussars ran to him. "Arrest these men," said he to them in German; "but do them no harm." Beurnonville begged that he would let him share their fate. "Yes," replied he; "and I think I am rendering you a real service. I am saving you from the revolutionary tribunal."

Dumouriez ordered refreshments to be given to them, and then sent them off to Tournay, to be kept as hostages

by the Austrians. The very next morning he mounted his horse, issued a proclamation to the army and to France, and found in his soldiers, especially those of the line, dispositions to all appearance the most favourable.

Tidings of all these circumstances had successively reached Paris. The interview of Dumouriez with Proly, Dubuisson, and Pereyra, his attempts upon Lille and Valenciennes, and lastly, the arrest of the four commissioners, were known there. The Convention, the municipal assemblies, the popular societies, immediately declared themselves permanent. A reward was offered for the head of Dumouriez; and all the relatives of the officers of his army were apprehended to serve as hostages. Forty thousand men were ordered to be raised in Paris and the neighbouring towns, for the purpose of covering the capital; and Dampierre was invested with the chief command of the army in Belgium. To these urgent measures had, as on all occasions, been added calumnies. Dumouriez, Orleans, and the Girondins were everywhere classed together, and declared accomplices. Dumouriez was, it was said, one of those military aristocrats, a member of those old staffs, whose bad principles were continually betraying themselves; Orleans was the first of those grandees who had feigned a false attachment for liberty, and who were unmasking after an hypocrisy of several years; lastly, the Girondins were but deputies who had become unfaithful, like all the members of all the right sides, and who abused their mandates for the overthrow of liberty. Dumouriez was only doing a little later what Bouillé and Lafayette had done a little earlier. Orleans was pursuing the same conduct as the other members of the family of the Bourbons had already pursued, and he had merely persisted in the Revolution a little longer than the Comte de Provence. The Girondins, as Maury and Cazalès in the Constituent, Vau-blanc and Pastoret in the Legislative Assembly, betrayed their country quite as visibly, but only at different periods. Thus Dumouriez, Orleans, Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, &c., all accomplices, were the traitors of the current year.

The Girondins replied by asserting that they had always been hostile to Orleans, and that it was the party of the Mountain who had defended him; that they had quarrelled with Dumouriez, and had no connection with him; while, on the contrary, those who had been sent to him into Belgium, those who had accompanied him in all his expeditions, those who had always shown themselves his friends, and had even palliated his conduct, were Mountaineers. Lasource, carrying

boldness still further, had the imprudence to name Lacroix and Danton, and to accuse them of having checked the zeal of the Convention by disguising the conduct of Dumouriez. This allegation of Lasource roused suspicions already entertained respecting the conduct of Lacroix and Danton in Belgium. It was actually asserted that they had exchanged indulgence with Dumouriez; that he had supported their rapine, and that they had excused his defection. Danton, who desired nothing from the Girondins but silence, was filled with fury, rushed to the tribune, and swore war against them to the death. "No more peace or truce," he exclaimed, "between you and us!"* Distorting his face in a frightful manner, and shaking his fist at the right side of the Assembly, "I have entrenched myself," said he, "in the citadel of reason. I will sally from it with the cannon of truth, and grind to powder the villains who have dared to accuse me."

The result of these reciprocal accusations was: (1) the appointment of a commission for the purpose of investigating the conduct of the commissioners sent to Belgium; (2) the adoption of a decree which was destined to have fatal consequences, and which purported that, without regard to the inviolability of representatives, they should be placed under accusation whenever they were strongly presumed to be guilty of complicity with the enemies of the State; (3) lastly, the apprehension and transfer to the prison of Marseilles of Philip of Orleans and all his family. Thus this Prince, the football of all the parties, alternately suspected by the Jacobins and the Girondins, and accused of conspiring with everybody because he conspired with nobody, furnished a proof that no past greatness could subsist amid the present revolution, and that the deepest and the most voluntary abasement could neither dispel distrust, nor save from the scaffold.

Dumouriez felt that he had not a moment to lose. Seeing Dampierre and several generals of division about to forsake him, others only waiting for a favourable opportunity to do so, lastly, a multitude of emissaries busy among his troops, he

* "One man alone could have saved the Girondins; but they completely alienated him, although Dumouriez had counselled them to keep fair with him. This man was Danton. To a hideous figure, a heart harsh and violent, much ignorance and coarseness, he united great natural sense, and a very energetic character. If the Girondins had possessed good sense enough to have coalesced with him, he would have humbled the atrocious faction of Marat, either tamed or annihilated the Jacobins, and perhaps Louis would have been indebted to him for his life; but the Girondins provoked him, and he sacrificed everything to his vengeance."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs.*

thought that it would be well to set them in motion, in order to engage his officers and his men, and to withdraw them from every other influence but his own. Besides, time pressed, and it became necessary to act. In consequence, he agreed upon an interview with the Prince of Coburg on the morning of the 4th, for the purpose of settling definitively with him and Colonel Mack the operations which he meditated. The meeting was to take place near Condé. His intention was to enter the fortress afterwards, to purge the garrison, and then, proceeding with his whole army upon Orchies, to threaten Lille, and endeavour to reduce it by displaying all his force.

On the morning of the 4th he set out for the purpose of repairing to the place of rendezvous, and afterwards to Condé. He had ordered an escort of only fifty horse, and as it did not arrive in time, he started, leaving directions that it should be sent after him. Thouvenot,* the son of Orleans, some officers, and a certain number of attendants accompanied him. No sooner was he on the road to Condé than he met two battalions of volunteers, whom he was extremely surprised to find there, as he had given no orders for them to shift their quarters. He was just alighting near a house to write an order for them to return, when he heard shouts raised, and the firing of muskets. These battalions were in fact dividing; some pursued him, crying "Stop!" others endeavoured to intercept his flight towards a ditch. He instantly dashed off with those who accompanied him, and distanced the volunteers who were in pursuit of him. On reaching the edge of the ditch his horse refused to leap it, on which he threw himself into it, and arrived on the other side amidst a shower of shot; and taking the horse of one of the attendants, he fled at full speed towards Bury. After riding the whole day, he arrived there in the evening, and was joined by Colonel Mack, who was apprized of what had happened. He spent the whole night in writing and in arranging with Colonel Mack and the Prince of Coburg all the conditions of their alliance; and he astonished them by his intention of returning to his army after what had occurred.

Accordingly, in the morning he mounted, and accompanied by some imperial horse, returned by way of Maulde to his army. Some troops of the line surrounded him and still gave him demonstrations of attachment; but many faces looked

* "Thouvenot possessed much knowledge relative to the details of reconnoitring, encamping, and marching; he possessed also much courage, infinite resources in the time of action, indefatigable exertion, and extensive views. Lafayette had employed, and placed the utmost reliance on him."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs*.



CHARLES D. D.

very sullen. The news of his flight to Bury, into the midst of the enemy's armies, and the sight of the imperial dragoons, produced an impression fatal for him, honourable for our soldiers, and happy for the fortune of France. He was informed, in fact, that the artillery, on the tidings that he had gone over to the Austrians, had left the camp, and that the departure of that very important portion of the army had disheartened the rest. Whole divisions were proceeding to Valenciennes to join Dampierre. He then found himself obliged to quit his army definitively, and to go back to the imperialists. He was followed by a numerous staff, in which were included the two sons of Orleans and Thouvenot, and by the Berchiny hussars, the whole regiment of which insisted on accompanying him.

The Prince of Coburg and Colonel Mack, whose friend he had become, treated him with great distinction, and wished to renew with him the plans of the preceding night by appointing him to the command of a new emigrant force which should be of a different character from that of Coblenz. But after two days he told the Austrian Prince that it was with the soldiers of France, and accepting the imperialists merely as auxiliaries, that he had hoped to execute his projects against Paris, but that his quality of Frenchman forbade him to march at the head of foreigners. He demanded passports for the purpose of retiring to Switzerland. They were immediately granted. The high estimate formed of his talents, and the low opinion entertained of his political principles, gained him favours not shown to Lafayette, who was at this moment expiating his heroic constancy in the dungeons of Olmütz.

Thus terminated the career of that superior man, who had displayed all sorts of talents—those of the diplomatist, the administrator, and the general; every sort of courage—that of the civilian withstanding the storms of the tribune, that of the soldier braving the balls of the enemy, that of the commander confronting the most dangerous situations and the perils of the most daring enterprises; but who, without principles, without the moral ascendancy which they confer, without any other influence than that of genius, soon spent in that rapid succession of men and circumstances, had resolutely tried to struggle with the Revolution, and proved, by a striking example, that an individual cannot prevail against a national passion until it is exhausted. In going over to the enemy Dumouriez had not for his excuse either Bouillé's aristocratic infatuation or Lafayette's delicacy of principles; for he had tolerated all the disorders till the

moment when they ran counter to his projects. By his defection he may fairly be alleged to have hastened the fall of the Girondins, and the great revolutionary crisis. Yet it must not be forgotten that this man, without attachment to any cause, had the preference of reason for liberty; it must not be forgotten that he loved France; that when no one believed it possible to withstand the foreign foe, he attempted it, and relied more upon us than we did upon ourselves; that at St. Menes he taught us to face the enemy with coolness; that at Jemappes he kindled our ardour, and replaced us in the rank of the first-rate powers; lastly, we must not forget that if he forsook us, it was he who saved us. Moreover, he passed a sad old age far away from his country; and one cannot help feeling deep regret at the sight of a man fifty of whose years were spent in Court intrigues, and thirty in exile, while three only were occupied on a theatre worthy of his genius.

Dampierre was invested with the chief command of the army of the North, and entrenched his troops in the camp of Famars, in such a manner as to be able to succour any of our fortresses that might be threatened. This position, which was strong, and the plan of campaign adopted by the Allies, according to which they had agreed not to penetrate farther until the fortress of Mayence should be retaken, could not but retard the events of the war in this quarter. Custine, who, to excuse his own blunders, had never ceased to accuse his colleagues and the ministers, was favourably heard when speaking against Beurnonville, who was regarded as an accomplice of Dumouriez, though delivered up to the Austrians, and he obtained the command of the Rhine from the Vosges and the Moselle to Huningue. As the defection of Dumouriez had begun with negotiations, the penalty of death was decreed against any general who should listen to proposals from the enemy, unless the sovereignty of the people and the republic were previously recognized. Bouchotte* was then appointed minister at war; and Monge, though highly agreeable to the Jacobins for his complaisance, was superseded as inadequate to all the details of that immense department. It was also resolved that three commissioners of the Convention should remain constantly with the armies, and that one of them should be replaced every month.

At the same time the project so frequently brought forward, of giving greater energy to the action of the govern-

* See Appendix ZZZ.

ment by concentrating it in the Convention, was carried into execution. After various plans, that of a committee, called the committee of public welfare, was adopted. This committee, composed of nine members, was to deliberate in private. It was charged to superintend and to accelerate the action of the executive power; it was even authorized to suspend its resolutions (*arrêtés*) when it deemed them contrary to the general interest, with the proviso that it should inform the Convention of the circumstance; and to take on all urgent occasions measures of internal and external defence. The *arrêtés*, signed by the majority of its members, were to be instantly carried into effect by the executive power. It was instituted for one month only, and could not deliver any order of arrest, unless against actual perpetrators.

The members nominated to compose this committee were Barrère, Delmas, Bréard,* Cambon, Robert Lindet,† Guyton-Morveau, Treilhard, and Lacroix of Eure and Loire. Though not yet uniting all the powers, this committee nevertheless had immense influence. It corresponded with the commissioners of the Convention, gave them their instructions, and had authority to substitute any measures that it thought fit in place of those of the ministers. Through Cambon it ruled the finances, and with Danton it could not fail to acquire the influence of that powerful party-leader. Thus by the growing effect of danger was the country urged on towards a dictatorship.

On recovering from the alarm caused by the desertion of Dumouriez, the parties next began to charge each other with being accomplices in it; and it was but natural that the stronger should overwhelm the weaker. The sections, the popular societies, which in general led the way in everything, took the initiative, and denounced the Girondins in petitions and addresses.

A new society, more violent than any yet existing, had been founded agreeably to a principle of Marat. He had said that up to that day men had done nothing but *prate* about the sovereignty of the people; that according to this doctrine, well understood, each section was sovereign in its own district, and had a right to recall at any moment the powers that it had given. The most furious agitators, laying hold of this doctrine, had in fact pretended to be deputed by these sections to ascertain the use that was made of these powers, and to consult upon the public welfare. They met at the Evêché, and declared themselves authorized to correspond with all the

* See Appendix AAAA.

† See Appendix BBBB.

municipalities of the republic. In consequence they called themselves the central committee of public welfare. Hence proceeded the most inflammatory propositions. This committee had resolved to go in a body to the Convention to inquire if it possessed the means of saving the country. It had attracted the notice, not only of the Assembly, but also of the commune and of the Jacobins. Robespierre, who no doubt was glad enough of the consequences of insurrection, but who dreaded the means, and who had shown fear at every disturbance, inveighed against the violent resolutions which seemed to be preparing in these inferior associations, persevered in his favourite policy, which consisted in defaming the deputies whom he stigmatized as unfaithful, and ruining them in the public opinion, before he had recourse to any other measure against them. Fond of accusing his opponents, he dreaded the employment of force, and preferred the contests of the tribunes, which were without danger, and in which he carried off all the honour.

Marat, who had at times the vanity of moderation as well as all other sorts of vanity, denounced the society of the *Evêché*, though he had furnished the principles upon which it was formed. Commissioners were sent to ascertain if the members composing it were men of extravagant zeal or bribed agitators. Having satisfied themselves that they were merely too zealous patriots, the society of the Jacobins would not exclude them from its bosom, as had been at first suggested, but directed a list of them to be made out, for the purpose of watching them; and it proposed a public disapprobation of their conduct, alleging that there ought not to be any other centre of public welfare than itself. Thus the insurrection of the 10th of April had been prepared and condemned beforehand. All those who have not the courage to act, all those who are displeased at seeing themselves distanced, disapprove the first attempts, though all the while they desire their results. Danton alone maintained profound silence, neither disavowing nor disapproving the subordinate agitators. He was not fond of triumphing in the tribune by long-winded accusations, and preferred the means of action which he possessed in the highest degree, having at his beck all the most immoral and turbulent spirits that Paris contained. It is not known, however, whether he was acting in secret; but he kept a threatening silence.

Several sections condemned the association at the *Evêché*, and that of Mail presented to the Convention an energetic petition on the subject. That of *Bonne-Nouvelle* came, on the contrary, and read an address in which it denounced Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, &c., as friends of Dumouriez,

and insisted that they ought to be struck by the sword of the law. After vehement agitation, in a contrary spirit, the petitioners were admitted to the honours of the sitting; but it was declared that thenceforward the Assembly would not listen to any accusation against its members, and that every denunciation of this kind should be addressed to the committee of public welfare.

The section of the *Halle-au-Blé*, which was one of the most violent, drew up another petition, under the presidency of Marat, and sent it to the Jacobins, to the sections, and to the commune, that it might receive its approbation, and that sanctioned thus by all the authorities of the capital, it might be solemnly presented by Pache, the mayor, to the Convention. In this petition, carried about from place to place, and universally known, it was alleged that part of the Convention was corrupted, that it conspired with the fore-stallers, that it was implicated with Dumouriez, and that it ought to be superseded by the commissioners. On the 10th of April, while this petition was hawking about from section to section, Petion, feeling indignant, desired to be heard on a motion of order. He inveighed with a vehemence unusual with him against the calumnies levelled at a portion of the Convention, and called for measures of repression. Danton, on the contrary, claimed honourable mention on behalf of the petition which was preparing. Petion, still more incensed, proposed that its authors should be sent to the revolutionary tribunal. Danton replied, that upright representatives, strong in a clear conscience, need not be afraid of calumny; that it is inevitable in a republic, and that besides, they had not yet either repulsed the Austrians or framed a constitution; consequently it was doubtful whether the Convention deserved praise. He afterwards insisted that the Assembly should cease to pay attention to private quarrels, and that those who deemed themselves calumniated ought to appeal to the tribunals. The question was therefore disposed of; but Fonfrède brought it forward again, and again it was set aside. Robespierre, who dearly loved personal quarrels, brought it forward afresh, and demanded permission to rend the veil. He was allowed to speak, and he began a speech full of the most bitter, the most atrocious defamation of the Girondins in which he had ever indulged. We must notice this speech, which shows in what colours his gloomy mind painted the conduct of his enemies.

According to him there existed, below the aristocracy dispossessed in 1789, a burgher aristocracy, as vain and as

despotic as the preceding, and whose treasons succeeded those of the nobility. A frank revolution did not suit this class, and it wanted a king, with the constitution of 1791, to assure its domination. The Girondins were its leaders. Under the Legislative Assembly they had secured the ministerial departments by means of Roland, Clavières, and Servan. After they had lost them they endeavoured to revenge themselves by the 20th of June; and on the eve of the 10th of August they were treating with the Court, and offering peace, upon condition that the power should be restored to them. On the 10th of August itself they were content to suspend the King without abolishing royalty, and appointed a governor for the Prince-Royal. After the 10th they seized the ministerial departments, and slandered the commune, for the purpose of ruining its influence and securing an exclusive sway. When the Convention was formed they made themselves masters of the committees, continued to calumniate Paris, and to represent that city as the focus of all crimes; and they perverted the public opinion by means of their journals, and by the immense sums which Roland devoted to the circulation of the most perfidious writings. Lastly, in January they opposed the death of the tyrant, not out of attachment to his person, but out of attachment to royalty. This faction, continued Robespierre, is the only cause of the disastrous war which we are at this moment waging. It desires it, in order to expose us to the invasion of Austria, which promised a congress, with the burgher constitution of 1791. It has directed it with perfidy, and after employing the traitor Lafayette, it has since employed the traitor Dumouriez, to attain the end which it has been so long pursuing. At first it feigned a quarrel with Dumouriez; but the quarrel was not serious, for it had formerly placed him in the ministry by means of his friend Genouë, and caused him to be allowed six millions for secret service money. Dumouriez, in concert with it, saved the Prussians in the Argonne, when he might have annihilated them.* In Belgium, it is true, he gained a great victory; but it required an important success to obtain the public confidence, and once obtained, he abused it in every possible way. He did not invade Holland, which he might

* "The Jacobins endeavoured to convert all Dumouriez's proceedings into so many crimes. Even the retreat of the Prussians served as the foundation of a thousand foibles. After imagining that he had released himself from his embarrassments by deceiving the Prussians, the moment the Jacobins learned the dismal state of the enemy's army, and yet beheld it saved, they attributed the excellence of its retreat to a collusion between Dumouriez and the King of Prussia."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs*.

have conquered in the very first campaign; he prevented the union of the conquered countries with France; and the diplomatic committee, in unison with him, omitted nothing to keep away the Belgian deputies who demanded the union. Those envoys of the executive power whom Dumouriez had so harshly treated because they annoyed the Belgians, were all chosen by the Girondins; and they contrived to send disorganizers whose conduct could not fail to be publicly condemned, in order to dishonour the republican cause. Dumouriez, after making, when too late, an attack upon Holland, returned to Belgium, lost the battle of Neerwinden; and it was Miranda, the friend and the creature of Petion, who by his retreat decided the loss of that battle. Dumouriez then fell back and raised the standard of revolt at the very moment when the faction was exciting the insurrections of royalism in the West. All was therefore prepared for this moment. A perfidious minister had been placed in the war department for this important circumstance. The committee of general safety, composed of all the Girondins, excepting seven or eight faithful deputies, who did not attend its meetings—this committee did nothing to prevent the public dangers. Thus nothing had been neglected for the success of the conspiracy. A king was wanted; but all the generals belonged to Egalité. The Egalité family was collected around Dumouriez: his sons, his daughter, ay, even the intriguing Sillery, were along with him. Dumouriez began by manifestoes, and what did he say?—all that the orators and the writers of the faction said in the tribune and in the newspapers: that the Convention was composed of villains, with the exception of a small sound portion; that Paris was the focus of all sorts of crimes; that the Jacobins were disorganizers, who excited disturbance and civil war.

Such was the manner in which Robespierre accounted for the defection of Dumouriez as well as for the opposition of the Girondins. After he had at great length developed this artful tissue of calumnies, he proposed to send to the revolutionary tribunal the accomplices of Dumouriez, all the members of the Orleans family and their friends. "As for the deputies Guadet, Gensonné, Vergniaud, &c., it would be," said he, with malicious irony, "a sacrilege to accuse such upright men; and feeling my impotence in regard to them, I leave them to the wisdom of the Assembly."

The tribunes and the Mountain applauded their *virtuous* orator. The Girondins were incensed at this infamous system, in which a perfidious hatred had as large a share as

a natural distrust of disposition; for there was in this speech an extraordinary art in combining facts and obviating objections; and Robespierre had displayed in this base accusation more real talent than in all his ordinary declamations. Vergniaud rushed to the tribune and demanded permission to speak, with such vehemence, earnestness, and resolution, that it was granted, and that the tribunes and the Mountain at length left it to him undisturbed. To the premeditated speech of Robespierre he opposed one delivered on the spur of the moment, with the warmth of the most eloquent and the most innocent of men.

He would presume, he said, to reply to Monsieur Robespierre, and he would not employ either time or art in his reply, for he needed nothing but his soul. He would not speak for himself, for he knew that in times of revolution the dregs of nations are stirred up, and for a moment rise above the good, but in order to enlighten France. His voice, which more than once had struck terror into that palace from which he had assisted to hurl tyranny, should carry terror also into the souls of the villains who were desirous of substituting their own tyranny for that of royalty.

He then replied to every inculpation of Robespierre, what any one may reply from the mere knowledge of the facts. By his speech in July he provoked the dethronement of the King. Shortly before the 10th of August, doubting the success of the insurrection, not even knowing whether it would take place, he pointed out to an agent of the Court what it ought to do in order to reconcile itself with the nation and to save the country. On the 10th of August he was sitting in his place amidst the thunder of cannon, while Monsieur Robespierre was in a cellar. He had not caused the dethronement to be pronounced, because the combat was doubtful; and he proposed the appointment of a governor for the Dauphin, because, in case royalty should succeed in maintaining itself, a good education given to the young Prince might ensure the future happiness of France. Himself and his friends caused war to be declared, because it was already begun, and it was better to declare it openly and to defend oneself than to suffer without making it. He and his friends were appointed to the ministry and upon committees by the public voice. In the commission of twenty-one, in the Legislative Assembly, they opposed the suggestion for leaving Paris; and it was they who prepared the means which France displayed in the Argonne. In the committee of general safety of the Convention they

had laboured assiduously, and before the faces of their colleagues, who, if they pleased, might have witnessed all their proceedings. Robespierre had deserted it, and never made his appearance there. They had not calumniated Paris, but combated the murderers who usurped the name of Parisians, and disgraced Paris and the republic. They had not perverted the public opinion, since, for his own part, he had not written a single letter; and what Roland had circulated was well known to everybody. He and his friends demanded the appeal to the people on the trial of Louis XVI., because they were of opinion that on so important a question the national adhesion could not be dispensed with. For his own part, he scarcely knew Dumouriez, and had seen him but twice: the first time, on his return from the Argonne; the second, on his return from Belgium; but Danton and Santerre saw him, congratulated him, covered him with caresses, and made him dine with them every day. As for Egalité, he had just as little acquaintance with him. The Mountaineers alone knew and associated with him; and whenever the Girondins attacked him the Mountaineers invariably stood forward in his defence. What then could he and his friends be reproached with? Underhand dealings, intrigues? . . . But they did not run to the sections to stir them up. They did not fill the tribunes to extort decrees by terror. They never would suffer the ministers to be taken from among the assemblies of which they were members. Or were they accused of being moderates? . . . But they were not so on the 10th of August, when Robespierre and Marat were hiding themselves. They were so in September, when the prisoners were murdered, and the Garde-Meuble was plundered.

"You know," said Vergniaud in conclusion, "whether I have endured in silence the mortifications heaped upon me during the last six months, whether I have sacrificed to my country the most just resentments; you know whether upon pain of cowardice, upon pain of confessing myself guilty, upon pain of compromising the little good that I am still allowed to do, I could have avoided placing the impostures and the malignity of Robespierre in their true light. May this be the last day wasted by us in scandalous debates!" Vergniaud then moved that the section of the Halle-au-Blé should be summoned and desired to bring its registers.

The talent of Vergniaud had captivated his very enemies. His sincerity, his touching eloquence, had interested and convinced the great majority of the Assembly, and the

warmest testimonies of approbation were lavished upon him on all sides. Guadet desired to be heard; but at sight of him, the Mountain, before silent, became agitated, and sent forth horrid yells. He nevertheless obtained in his turn permission to reply, and he acquitted himself in such a manner as to excite the passions much more powerfully than Vergniaud had done. None, he admitted, had conspired; but appearances were much stronger against the Mountaineers and the Jacobins, who had been in connection with Dumouriez and Egalité, than against the Girondins, who had quarrelled with both. "Who," exclaimed Guadet, "who was with Dumouriez at the Jacobins, at the theatres? Your Danton." "Aha! dost thou accuse me?" rejoined Danton; "thou knowest not my power."

The conclusion of Guadet's speech was deferred till the following day. He continued to fix all conspiracy, if there were any, on the Mountaineers. He finished with reading an address, which, like that of the Halle-au-Blé, was signed by Marat. It was from the Jacobins, and Marat had signed it as president of the society. It contained these words, which Guadet read to the Assembly: "Citizens, let us arm. Counter-revolution is in the government; it is in the bosom of the Convention. Citizens, let us march thither, let us march!"

"Yes," cried Marat from his place, "yes, let us march!" At these words the Assembly rose and demanded a decree of accusation against Marat. Danton opposed it, saying that the members on both sides of the Assembly appeared to agree upon accusing the family of Orleans, that it ought therefore to be sent before the tribunals; but as for Marat, he could not be placed under accusation for an expression which had escaped him amidst a stormy discussion. Some one replied that the family of Orleans ought not to be tried in Paris, but at Marseilles. Danton would have continued, but without listening to him, the Assembly gave the priority to the decree of accusation against Marat, and Lacroix moved that he should be immediately apprehended. "Since my enemies have lost all modesty," cried Marat, "I demand one thing: the decree is calculated to excite a commotion; let two gendarmes accompany me to the Jacobins, that I may go and recommend peace to them." Without listening to these ridiculous sallies, the Assembly ordered him to be taken into custody, and directed that the act of accusation should be prepared by noon the next day.

Robespierre hastened to the Jacobins to express his indigna-

tion, to praise the energy of Danton and the moderation of Marat, and to recommend to them to be calm, that people might not have to say that Paris rose to liberate a Jacobin.

On the next day the act of accusation was read and approved by the Assembly, and the accusation so frequently proposed against Marat was seriously prosecuted before the revolutionary tribunal.*

It was an intended petition against the Girondins that had produced these violent altercations between the two sides of the Assembly; but nothing had been enacted on the subject; neither, indeed, was it possible to enact anything, since the Assembly had not the power to check the commotions produced by the petitions. The project of a general address from all the sections had been prosecuted with activity; the particular form of it had been determined upon; out of the forty-three sections, thirty-five had adopted it; the general council of the commune had approved it; and on the 15th the commissioners of the thirty-five sections, with Pache, the mayor, at their head, appeared at the bar. It might be considered as the manifesto in which the commune of Paris declared its intentions, and threatened insurrection in case of refusal. So it had done before the 10th of August, so it again did on the eve of the 31st of May. The address was read by Real, *procureur* of the commune. After dwelling upon the criminal conduct of a certain number of deputies, the petition prayed for their expulsion from the Convention, and named them one after another. There were twenty-two: Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Grange-Neuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Biroteau, Pontécoulant, Petion, Lanjuinais, Valazé, Hardy, Louvet, Lehardy, Gorsas, Gauchet, Lanthénas, Lasource, Valady, and Chambon.

The reading of these names drew forth applause from the tribunes. The president informed the petitioners that the law required them to sign their petition. They instantly complied. Pache alone, striving to prolong his neutrality, hung back. He was asked for his signature, but replied that he was not one of the petitioners, and had only been directed by the general council to accompany them. But perceiving that it

* "The Convention felt the necessity of making an effort to resist the inflammatory proceedings of the Jacobins. By a united effort of the Girondins and the neutral party, Marat was sent for trial to the revolutionary tribunal, on the charge of having instigated the people to demand the punishment of the national representatives. This was the first instance of the inviolability of the Convention being broken in upon; and as such, it afforded an unfortunate precedent, which the sanguinary Jacobins were not slow in following." *Alison.*

was impossible for him to recede, he advanced and signed the petition. The tribunes rewarded him with boisterous applause.

Boyer-Fonfrède immediately went up to the tribune, and said that, if modesty were not a duty, he would beg to be added to the glorious list of the twenty-two deputies. The majority of the Assembly, impelled by a generous emotion, cried, "Put us all down—all!" and then surrounded the twenty-two deputies, embracing them, and giving them the most expressive tokens of sympathy. The discussion, interrupted by this scene, was adjourned to the following days.

On the appointed day the subject was accordingly brought forward. Reproaches and justification recommenced between the two sides of the Assembly. Some deputies of the centre took occasion, from letters written on the state of the armies, to propose that they should direct their attention to the general interests of the republic, and not waste their time on private quarrels. The Assembly assented; but on the 18th a fresh petition against the right side caused that of the thirty-five sections to be again brought forward. Various acts of the commune were at the same time denounced. By one it declared itself in a continual state of revolution, and by another it appointed within its bosom a committee of correspondence with all the municipalities in the realm. It had in fact been long striving to give to its purely local authority a character of generality that would permit it to speak in the name of France, and enable it to rival the authority of the Convention. The committee of the Evêché, dissolved on the recommendation of the Jacobins, had also had for its object to put Paris in communication with all the other towns; and now the commune was desirous of making amends by organizing that correspondence in its own bosom. Vergniaud addressed the Assembly, and attacking at once the petition of the thirty-five sections, the acts imputed to the commune, and the designs revealed by its conduct, moved that the petition should be declared calumnious, and that the municipality should be required to bring its registers to the Assembly, to show what resolutions (*arrêtés*) it had passed. These propositions were adopted, in spite of the tribunes and the left side. At this moment the right side, supported by the Plain, began to sway all the decisions. It had caused Lasource, one of the most ardent of its members, to be appointed president; and it had again the majority, that is, the legality, a feeble resource against strength, and which serves at best but to irritate it the more.

The municipal officers, summoned to the bar, came boldly to submit the registers of their deliberations, and seemed to expect the approbation of their resolutions (*arrêtés*). These registers purported—(1) that the general council declared itself in a state of revolution so long as supplies of provisions were not ensured; (2) that the committee of correspondence with the forty-four thousand municipalities should be composed of nine members, and put immediately in activity; (3) that twelve thousand copies of the petition against the twenty-two should be printed and distributed by the committee of correspondence; (4) lastly, that the general council would consider the blow aimed at itself when any of its members, or when a president or secretary of a section or of a club, should be prosecuted for their opinions. This last resolution had been adopted for the purpose of screening Marat, who was accused of having, as president of a section, signed a seditious address.

The commune, as we see, resisted the Assembly foot to foot, and on each debated point adopted a decision contrary to that of the latter. If the question related to the supply of necessaries, it immediately constituted itself in a state of revolution if violent means were rejected. If it related to Marat, it covered him with its shield. If it related to the twenty-two, it appealed to the forty-four thousand municipalities, and placed itself in correspondence with them for the purpose of demanding from them, as it were, general powers against the Convention. The opposition was complete at all points, and accompanied, moreover, by preparations for insurrection.

No sooner was the reading of the registers finished than the younger Robespierre demanded the honours of the sitting for the municipal officers. The right side opposed this; the Plain hesitated, and said that it might perhaps be dangerous to lower magistrates in the estimation of the people by refusing them a customary honour which was not denied even to the humblest petitioners. Amidst these tumultuous debates the sitting was prolonged till eleven at night. The right side and the Plain withdrew, and one hundred and forty-three members only remained with the Mountain to admit the Parisian municipality to the honours of the sitting. On one and the same day declared guilty of calumny, repulsed by the majority, and admitted to the honours of the sitting by the Mountain and the tribunes, it could not fail to be deeply exasperated, and to become the rallying-point for all those who wished to break down the authority of the Convention.

Marat had at length been brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and it was not by the energy of the right side, which had as it were carried the Plain along with it, that his accusation had been decided upon. But every energetic movement, while it is honourable to, only precipitates the ruin of a party struggling against a superior movement. The Girondins, by their courageous prosecution of Marat, had only prepared a triumph for him. The act purported in substance that Marat, having in his papers encouraged murder, carnage, the degradation and dissolution of the National Convention, and the establishment of a power destructive of liberty, was decreed to be under accusation, and delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. The Jacobins, the Cordeliers, all the agitators of Paris, had set themselves in motion in behalf of this austere philosopher, "formed," they said, "by adversity and meditation, combining great sagacity and a deep knowledge of the human heart with a soul of fire, and whose penetration discovered the traitors in their triumphal car, at the moment when the stupid herd were yet offering them incense! The traitors," cried they, "will pass away, while the reputation of Marat is only commencing!"

Though the revolutionary tribunal was not then composed as it was at a later period, still Marat could not be condemned by it. The discussion lasted only a few moments. The accused was unanimously acquitted, amidst the applause of a numerous concourse assembled to witness his trial. This was the 24th of April. He was immediately surrounded by a mob, composed of women, *sans-culottes* with pikes, and detachments of the armed sections. They laid hold of him, and set out for the Convention, to replace him in his seat as deputy. Two municipal officers opened the procession. Marat, lifted in the arms of some sappers, his brow encircled by a wreath of oak, was borne in triumph to the middle of the hall. A sapper stepped forward from the crowd, presented himself at the bar, and said, "Citizen President, we bring you the worthy Marat. Marat has always been the friend of the people, and the people will always be the friends of Marat. If Marat's head must fall, the head of the sapper shall fall first." As he uttered these words the grim petitioner brandished his axe, and the tribunes applauded with tumultuous uproar. He demanded permission for the escort to file off through the hall. "I will consult the Assembly," replied Lasource, the president, dismayed at this hideous scene. But the crowd would not wait till he had consulted the Assembly, and rushed from all sides into the hall. Men



and women poured in pell-mell, and took the seats left vacant by the departure of the deputies disgusted at the scene. Marat, transferred from hand to hand, was hailed with applause. From the arms of the petitioners he passed into those of his colleagues of the Mountain, and he was embraced with the strongest demonstrations of joy. At length he tore himself away from his colleagues, ran to the tribune, and declared to the legislators that he came to offer them a pure heart, a justified name, and that he was ready to die in defence of liberty and the rights of the people.

New honours awaited the Jacobins. The women had prepared a great number of crowns. The president offered him one. A child about four years old, mounted on the bureau, placed another upon his head. Marat pushed away the crowns with an insolent disdain. "Citizens," said he, "indignant at seeing a villainous faction betraying the republic, I endeavoured to unmask it, and to *put the rope about its neck*. It resisted me by launching against me a decree of accusation. I have come off victorious. The faction is humbled, but not crushed. Waste not your time in decreeing triumphs. Defend yourselves with enthusiasm. I lay upon the bureau the two crowns which have just been presented to me, and I invite my fellow-citizens to await the end of my career before they decide."

Numerous plaudits hailed this impudent modesty. Robespierre was present at this triumph, the too mean and too popular character of which he no doubt disdained. He too, however, was destined to feel, like any other, the vanity of the triumpher. The rejoicings over, the Assembly hastened to return to the ordinary discussion, that is to say, to the means of purifying the government, and expelling from it the traitors, the Rolandists, the Brissotins, &c. For this purpose it was proposed to draw up a list of the persons employed in all the departments of the administration, and to mark such as had deserved to be dismissed. "Send me that list," said Marat, "I will pick out such as ought to be dismissed and retained, and signify the result to the ministers." Robespierre made an observation: he said that the ministers were almost all accomplices of the culprits; that they would not listen to the society; that it would be better to address themselves to the committee of public safety, placed by its functions above the executive council; and that, moreover, the society could not, without compromising itself, communicate with ministers who were guilty of malversation. "These reasons are frivolous," replied Marat, with disdain; "a patriot

so pure as myself * *might communicate with the devil*. I will address myself to the ministers, and summon them to satisfy us, in the name of the society.

A respectful consideration always surrounded the eloquent Robespierre; but the audacity, the insolent cynicism of Marat astonished and struck every enthusiastic mind. His hideous familiarity attached to him some sturdy market-porters, who were flattered by this intimacy with *the friend of the people*, and who were always ready to lend his puny person the aid of their arms and their influence in the public places.

The anger of the Mountain was excited by the obstacles which it had to encounter; but these obstacles were much greater in the provinces than in Paris; and the disappointments which its commissioners, sent to forward the recruiting, met with on their way, soon increased its irritation to the highest pitch. All the provinces were most favourably disposed towards the Revolution; but all had not embraced it with equal ardour, or signalized themselves by so many excesses as the city of Paris. It is always idle ambition, ardent minds, superior talents, that are the first to engage in revolutions. A capital always contains a larger portion of them than the provinces, because it is the rendezvous of all those who, from independence or ambition, abandon the soil, the profession, and the traditions of their fathers. Paris of course contained the greatest number of Revolutionists. Situated, moreover, at no great distance from the frontiers, the aim of all the enemy's blows, it had been exposed to greater danger than any city in France. The seat of the authorities, it had seen all the great questions discussed in its bosom. Thus danger, discussion, everything, had concurred to produce in it excitement and excess.

The provinces, which had not the same motives for agitation, beheld these excesses with horror, and had participated in the sentiments of the right side and of the Plain. Dissatisfied more especially with the treatment experienced by their deputies, they imagined that they discovered in the capital not only revolutionary exaggeration, but also the ambition to rule France as Rome ruled the conquered provinces.

* "There can be little doubt that Marat regarded himself as the apostle of liberty, and the more undeniably wrong he was, the more infallible he thought himself. Others had more delight in the actual spilling of blood; no one else had the same disinterested and dauntless confidence in the theory. He might be placed almost at the head of a class that exist at all times, but only break out in times of violence and revolution—who form crime into a code, and proclaim conclusions that make the hair of others stand on end."
—Hazlitt.

Such were the feelings with which the quiet, industrious, moderate mass regarded the Revolutionists of Paris. These dispositions, however, were more or less strongly expressed according to local circumstances. Each province, each city, had also its hot-headed Revolutionists, because in all places there are adventurous spirits and ardent characters. Almost all the men of this stamp had made themselves masters of the municipalities, and to this end they had availed themselves of the general renewal of the authorities ordered by the Legislative Assembly after the 10th of August. The inactive and moderate mass always gives way to the more bustling, and it was natural that the most violent spirits should possess themselves of the municipal functions, the most difficult of all, and those which require most zeal and activity. The great number of the peaceable citizens had withdrawn into the sections, which they sometimes attended, to give their votes, and to exercise their civil rights. The departmental functions had been conferred on persons possessing either the most wealth or the most consideration, and for that very reason the least active and the least energetic of men. Thus all the hot Revolutionists were entrenched in the municipalities, while the middling and wealthy mass occupied the sections and the departmental functions.

The commune of Paris, feeling this position, had resolved to put itself in correspondence with all the municipalities; but, as we have seen, it had been prevented by the Convention. The parent society of the Jacobins had made amends for this by its own correspondence; and the connection which could not yet be established between municipality and municipality, existed between club and club, which amounted to nearly the same thing; for the same men who deliberated in the Jacobin clubs afterwards went to act in the general councils of the communes. Thus the whole Jacobin party of France, collected in the municipalities and in the clubs, corresponding from one extremity of the country to the other, found itself arrayed against the middling mass, an immense mass, but divided into a multitude of sections, not exercising active functions, not corresponding from city to city, forming here and there a few moderate clubs, and assembling occasionally in the sections, or in the departmental councils, to give an uncertain and timid vote.

It was this difference of position that encouraged the Revolutionists to hope that they could control the mass of the population. This mass admitted the republic, but desired it without its excesses; and at the moment it had still the

advantage in all the provinces. Since the municipalities, armed with a terrible police having authority to pay domiciliary visits, to seek out foreigners, to disarm suspected persons, could annoy the peaceable citizens with impunity, the sections had endeavoured to effect a reaction; and they had joined for the purpose of curbing the municipalities. In almost all the towns of France they had plucked up a little courage; they were in arms; they resisted the municipalities, inveighed against their inquisitorial police, supported the right side, and together with it demanded order, peace, and respect of person and property. The municipalities and the Jacobin clubs demanded, on the contrary, new measures of police, and the institution of revolutionary tribunals in the departments. The people of certain towns were ready to come to blows upon these questions. The sections, however, were so strong in number that they counteracted the energy of the municipalities. The Mountaineer deputies sent to forward the recruiting and to rekindle the revolutionary zeal, were dismayed at this resistance, and filled Paris with their alarms.

Such was the state of almost all France, and the manner in which it was divided. The conflict was more or less violent, and the parties were more or less menacing, according to the position and dangers of each town. Where the dangers of the Revolution were greater, the Jacobins were more inclined to use violent means, and consequently the moderate mass was more disposed to resist them. But it was not the military danger that most exasperated the revolutionary passions. It was the danger of domestic treason. Thus, on the northern frontier, threatened by the enemy's armies, and not much wrought upon by intrigue, people were tolerably unanimous; their minds were intent on the common defence; and the commissioners sent to all parts between Lille and Lyons had made the most satisfactory reports to the Convention. But at Lyons, where secret machinations concurred with the geographical and military position of the city to render the peril greater, storms had arisen as terrible as those which had burst upon Paris.

From its eastern situation and its vicinity to Piedmont, Lyons had always attracted the notice of the counter-revolutionists. The first emigrants at Turin had projected a movement there in 1790, and even sent a French prince to that city. Mirabeau had also planned one in his way. After the great majority of emigrants had removed to Coblenz, an agent had been left in Switzerland to correspond with Lyons, and through Lyons with the camp of Jâlès and the fanatics

of the South. These machinations had produced a reaction of Jacobinism, and the royalists had caused Mountaineers to spring up in Lyons. The latter had a club called the central club, composed of envoys from all the clubs of the quarter. At their head was a Piedmontese, whom a natural restlessness of disposition had driven from country to country, and at length fixed at Lyons, where he owed his revolutionary ardour to his having been successively appointed municipal officer and president of the civil tribunal. His name was Chalier,* and he used in the central club such language as at the Jacobins in Paris would have caused him to be accused by Marat of tending to convulse everything, and of being in the pay of foreigners. Besides this club, the Lyonnese Mountaineers had the whole municipality, excepting Nivière, the mayor, a friend and disciple of Roland, and head of the Girondin party at Lyons. Weary of so much dissension, Nivière had, like Petion, resigned his office, and, like Petion, been re-elected by the sections, more powerful and more energetic at Lyons than anywhere else in France. Out of eleven thousand voters, nine thousand had obliged Nivière to resume the functions of mayor; but he had again resigned, and this time the Mountaineer municipality had succeeded in completing itself by effecting the election of a mayor of its choice. On this occasion the party had come to blows. The youth of the sections had driven Chalier from the central club, and gutted the hall in which he vented his fanaticism. The department had sent in alarm for the commissioners of the Convention, who, by censuring first the sections, and then the excesses of the commune, had displeased all parties, been denounced by the Jacobins, and recalled by the Convention. Their task had been confined to awarding compensation to the central club, affiliating it with the Jacobins, and without abridging its energy, ridding it of some too impure members. In the month of May the irritation had reached its greatest height. On the one hand, the commune, composed entirely of Jacobins, and the central club, with its president, Chalier, demanded a revolutionary tribunal for Lyons, and paraded through the public places a guillotine which had been procured from Paris, and which was exposed to public view to strike terror into traitors and aristocrats; while, on the other, the sections, in arms, were ready to curb the municipality, and to prevent the establishment of the sanguinary tribunal, from which the Girondins had not been

* See Appendix CCCC.

able to save the capital. In this state of things the secret agents of royalty scattered in Lyons awaited the favourable moment for turning to account the indignation of the Lyonnese, which was ready to break forth.

In all the rest of the South, as far as Marseilles, the moderate republican spirit prevailed in a more equal manner, and the Girondins possessed the undivided love of the country. Marseilles was jealous of the supremacy of Paris, incensed at the insults offered to Barbaroux, its favourite deputy, and ready to rise against the Convention if the national representation were attacked. Though wealthy, it was not situated in an advantageous manner for the counter-revolutionists abroad; for it bordered only upon Italy, where nothing was hatching, and its port did not interest the English like that of Toulon. Secret machinations had consequently not excited such alarm there as in Lyons and Paris; and the municipality, feeble and threatened, was near being supplanted by the all-powerful sections. Moise Bayle, the deputy, who was very coldly received, had found great ardour for the recruiting, but absolute devotedness to the Gironde.

From the Rhone in the East to the shores of the ocean on the West, fifty or sixty departments entertained the same dispositions. At Bordeaux, lastly, the unanimity was complete. There the sections, the municipality, the principal club—everybody, in short, agreed to resist Mountaineer violence, and to support that glorious deputation of the Gironde to which this portion of France was so proud of having given birth. The adverse party had found an asylum in a single section only, and everywhere else it was powerless and doomed to silence. Bordeaux demanded neither maximum, nor provisions, nor revolutionary tribunal, prepared petitions against the commune of Paris, and battalions for the service of the republic.

But along the coast of the ocean, extending from the Gironde to the Loire, and from the Loire to the mouths of the Seine, were to be found very different dispositions and very different dangers. There the implacable Mountain had not only to encounter the mild and generous republicanism of the Girondins, but the constitutional royalism of 1789, which repelled the republic as illegal, and the fanaticism of the feudal times, which was armed against the Revolution of 1793 as well as against the Revolution of 1789, and which acknowledged only the temporal authority of the gentry, and the spiritual authority of the Church.

In Normandy, and particularly at Rouen, its principal city, there was a feeling of strong attachment to Louis XVI., and

the constitution of 1790 had gratified all the wishes that were formed for liberty and the throne. Ever since the abolition of royalty and the constitution of 1790, that is, since the 10th of August, a condemnatory and threatening silence had prevailed in Normandy. Bretagne exhibited still more hostile sentiments, and the people there were engrossed by fondness for the priests and the gentry. Nearer to the banks of the Loire this attachment amounted to insurrection; and lastly, on the left bank of that river, in the Bocage, Le Loroux, and La Vendée, the insurrection was complete, and large armies of ten and twenty thousand men were already in the field.

This is the proper place for describing that singular country, covered with a population so obstinate, so heroic, so unfortunate, and so fatal to France, which it nearly ruined by a mischievous diversion, and the calamities of which it aggravated by driving the revolutionary dictatorship to the highest pitch of irritation.

On both banks of the Loire the people had retained a strong attachment to their ancient habits, and particularly to their religion and its ministers. When, in consequence of the civil constitution, the members of the clerical body found themselves divided, a real schism ensued. The curés, who refused to submit to the new circumscription of the churches, and to take the oath, were preferred by the people; and when, turned out of their livings, they were obliged to retire, the peasants followed them into the woods, and considered both themselves and their religion as persecuted. They collected in little bands, annoyed the constitutional curés as intruders, and committed the most heinous outrages upon them. In Bretagne, in the environs of Rennes, there were more general and more serious insurrections, which originated in the dearth of provisions, and in the threat to destroy the Church, contained in this expression of Cambon: *Those who will have mass shall pay for it.* Government had, however, succeeded in quelling these partial disturbances on the right bank of the Loire, and it had only to dread their communication with the left bank, the theatre of the grand insurrection.

It was particularly on this left bank, in Anjou, and Upper and Lower Poitou, that the famous war of La Vendée had broken out. It was in this part of France that the influence of time was least felt, and that it had produced least change in the ancient manners. The feudal system had there acquired a truly patriarchal character; and the Revolution, instead of effecting a beneficial reform in the country, had shocked the most kindly habits, and been received as a persecution. The

Bocage and the Marais constitute a singular country, which it is necessary to describe, in order to convey an idea of the manners of the population, and the kind of society that was formed there.

Setting out from Nantes and Saumur, and proceeding from the Loire to the sands of Olonne, Luçon, Fontenay, and Niort, you meet with an unequal undulating soil, intersected by ravines, and crossed by a multitude of hedges, which serve to fence in each field, and which have on this account obtained for the country the name of *The Bocage*. As you approach the sea the ground declines, till it terminates in salt marshes, and is everywhere cut up by a multitude of small canals, which render access almost impossible. This is what is called *The Marais*. The only abundant produce in this country is pasturage; consequently cattle are plentiful. The peasants there grew only just sufficient corn for their own consumption, and employed the produce of their herds and flocks as a medium of exchange. It is well known that no people are more simple than those subsisting by this kind of industry. Few great towns had been built in these parts. They contained only large villages of two or three thousand souls. Between the two highroads—leading, the one from Tours to Poitiers, and the other from Nantes to La Rochelle—extended a tract thirty leagues in breadth, where there were none but cross-roads leading to villages and hamlets. The country was divided into a great number of small farms, paying a rent of from five to six hundred francs, each let to a single family, which divided the produce of the cattle with the proprietor of the land. From this division of farms the seigneurs had to treat with each family, and kept up a continual and easy intercourse with them. The simplest mode of life prevailed in the mansions of the gentry; they were fond of the chase, on account of the abundance of game; the gentry and the peasants hunted together, and they were all celebrated for their skill and vigour.* The priests—men of extraordinary purity of character—exercised there a truly paternal ministry. Wealth had neither corrupted their manners

* "The gentlemen's residences were built and furnished without magnificence, and had neither extensive parks nor fine gardens. Their owners lived without pomp, and even with extreme simplicity. When called to the capital on business or pleasure, they did not return to the Bocage with the airs and manners of Paris. Their greatest luxury at home was the table, and their only amusement field sports. The women travelled on horseback, and in litters or carriages drawn by oxen. The seigneur went to the weddings of his tenants' children, and drank with the guests. On Sunday the tenants danced in the court of the château, and the ladies often joined. When there was to be a hunt

nor provoked censure regarding them. People submitted to the authority of the seigneur, and believed the words of the curé, because there was no oppression in the one nor scandal in the other. Before humanity throws itself into the track of civilization, there is a point of simplicity, ignorance, and purity, where one would wish to stop it, were it not its lot to proceed through evil towards all sorts of improvement.

When the Revolution, so beneficent in other quarters, reached this country, with its iron level, it produced profound agitation. It had been well if it could have made an exception there; but that was impossible. Those who have accused it of not adapting itself to localities, of not varying with them, are not aware of the impossibility of exceptions, and the necessity of one uniform and absolute rule in great social reforms. In these parts then people knew scarcely anything about the Revolution—they knew what the discontent of the gentry and the curés had taught them. Though the feudal dues were abolished they continued to pay them. They were obliged to assemble for the purpose of electing mayors; they did so, and begged the seigneurs to accept the office. But when the removal of the nonjuring priests deprived the peasants of the ministers in whom they had confidence, they were vehemently exasperated, and as in Bretagne, they ran into the woods, and travelled to a considerable distance to attend the ceremonies of a worship the only true one in their estimation. From that moment a violent hatred was kindled in their souls, and the priests neglected no means of fanning the flames. The 10th of August drove several Poitevin nobles back to their estates; the 21st of January estranged them, and they communicated their indignation to those about them. They did not conspire, however, as some have conceived. The known dispositions of the country had incited men who were strangers to it to frame plans of conspiracy. One had been hatched in Bretagne, but none was formed in the Bocage; there was no concerted plan there—people suffered themselves to be driven to extremity. At length the levy of three hundred thousand men excited, in the month of March, a general insurrection. At bottom it was of little consequence to the peasants of Lower Poitou what France was doing; but

of the wolf, or boar, or stag, the information was communicated by the curate to the parishioners in church after service. With these habits, the inhabitants of the Bocage were an excellent people—mild, pious, hospitable, full of courage and vivacity; of pure manners and honest principles. Crimes were never heard of, and lawsuits were rare.”—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.*

the removal of their clergy, and above all, the obligation to join the armies, disgusted them. Under the old system it was only those who were urged by a naturally restless disposition to quit their native land who composed the contingent of the country; but now the law laid hold of all, whatever might be their personal inclinations. Obligated to take arms, they chose rather to fight against the republic than for it. Nearly about the same time, that is, at the beginning of March, the drawing was the occasion of an insurrection in the Upper Bocage and in the Marais. On the 10th of March the drawing was to take place at St. Florent, near Ancenis, in Anjou. The young men refused to draw; the guard endeavoured to force them to comply. The military commandant ordered a piece of cannon to be pointed and fired at the mutineers. They dashed forward with their bludgeons, made themselves masters of the piece, disarmed the guard, and were at the same time not a little astonished at their own temerity. A carrier named Cathelineau,* a man highly esteemed in that part of the country, possessing great bravery and powers of persuasion, quitting his farm on hearing the tidings, hastened to join them, rallied them, roused their courage, and gave some consistency to the insurrection by his skill in keeping it up. The very same day he resolved to attack a republican post consisting of eighty men. The peasants followed him with their bludgeons and their muskets. After a first volley, every shot of which told, because they were excellent marksmen, they rushed upon the post, disarmed it, and made themselves masters of the position.

Next day Cathelineau proceeded to Chemillé, which he likewise took, in spite of two hundred republicans and three pieces of cannon. A gamekeeper at the château of Maulévrier, named Stofflet,† and a young peasant of the village of Chanzeau, had on their part collected a band of peasants. These came and joined Cathelineau, who conceived the daring design of attacking Chollet, the most considerable town in the country, the chief place of a district, and guarded by five hundred republicans. Their mode of fighting was this: Favoured by the hedges and the inequalities of the ground, they surrounded the enemy's battalion, and began to fire upon it under cover, and taking steady aim. Having daunted the republicans by this terrible fire, they took advantage of the first moment of hesitation that appeared, to rush upon them with loud shouts, broke their ranks, disarmed them, and

* See Appendix DDDD.

† See Appendix EEEE.

despatched them with their cudgels. Such was afterwards their whole system of military tactics: nature taught it them, and it was that best adapted to their country. The troops whom they attacked, drawn up in line and uncovered, received a fire which it was impossible for them to return, because they could neither make use of their artillery, nor charge scattered enemies with the bayonet. In this situation, if they were not inured to war, they could not fail to be soon staggered by a fire so incessant, so true, that no regular fire of troops of the line could ever equal it. When, in particular, they saw these furious assailants rushing upon them, setting up loud shouts, they could scarcely help being intimidated, and suffering their ranks to be broken. It was then all over with them; for flight, so easy to the country people, was impossible for troops of the line. It would therefore have required the most intrepid soldiers to surmount so many disadvantages; and those who in the first danger were opposed to the rebels were national guards of the first levy taken from the villages, almost all staunch republicans, and whose zeal carried them for the first time to the fight.

The victorious band of Cathelineau entered Chollet, seized all the arms that it could find, and made cartridges out of the charges of the cannon. It was always in this manner that the Vendéans procured ammunition. By none of their defeats was their enemy a gainer, because they had nothing but a musket or a bludgeon, which they carried with them across the country; and each of their victories was sure to give them a considerable *matériel* of war. The insurgents, when victorious, celebrated their success with the money which they found, and then burned all the papers of the administrations, which they regarded as instruments of tyranny. They then returned to their villages and their farms, which they would not leave again for a considerable time.

Another much more general revolt had broken out in the Marais and the department of La Vendée. At Machecoul and Challans the recruiting was the occasion of a universal insurrection. A hairdresser named Gaston killed an officer, took his uniform, put himself at the head of the troop, took Challans, and then Machecoul, where his men burned all the papers of the administrations, and committed murders, of which the Bocage had furnished no example. Three hundred republicans were shot by parties of twenty or thirty. The insurgents first made them confess, and then took them to the edge of a ditch, beside which they shot them, to spare themselves the trouble of burying the bodies. Nantes instantly

sent several hundred men to St. Philibert; but learning that there was a disturbance at Savenay, it recalled those troops, and the insurgents of Machecoul remained masters of the conquered country.

In the department of La Vendée, that is, to the south of the theatre of this war, the insurrection assumed still more consistence.

The national guards of Fontenay, having set out on their march for Chantonnay, were repulsed and beaten. Chantonnay was plundered. General Verteuil, who commanded the eleventh military division, on receiving intelligence of this defeat, despatched General Marcé with twelve hundred men, partly troops of the line, and partly national guards. The rebels who were met at St. Vincent were repulsed. General Marcé had time to add twelve hundred more men and nine pieces of cannon to his little army. In marching upon St. Fulgent he again fell in with the Vendéans in a valley, and stopped to restore a bridge which they had destroyed. About four in the afternoon of the 18th of March, the Vendéans, taking the initiative, advanced and attacked him. Availing themselves, as usual, of the advantages of the ground, they began to fire with their wonted superiority, by degrees surrounded the republican army, astonished at this so destructive fire, and utterly unable to reach an enemy concealed and dispersed in all the hollows of the ground. At length they rushed on to the assault, threw their adversaries into disorder, and made themselves masters of the artillery, the ammunition, and the arms which the soldiers threw away that they might be the lighter in their flight.

These more important successes in the department of La Vendée properly so called, procured for the insurgents the name of Vendéans, which they afterwards retained, though the war was far more active out of La Vendée. The pillage committed by them in the Marais caused them to be called *brigands*, though the greater number did not deserve that appellation. The insurrection extended into the Marais from the environs of Nantes to Les Sables, and into Anjou and Poitou as far as the environs of Vihiers and Parthenay. The cause of the success of the Vendéans was in the country, in its configuration, in their skill and courage to profit by it, and finally, in the inexperience and imprudent ardour of the republican troops, which, levied in haste, were in too great a hurry to attack them, and thus gave them victories and all their results, military stores, confidence, and courage.

Easter recalled all the insurgents to their homes, from

which they never would stay away long. To them war was a sort of sporting excursion of several days: they carried with them a sufficient quantity of bread for the time, and then returned to inflame their neighbours by the accounts which they gave. Places of meeting were appointed for the month of April. The insurrection was then general, and extended over the whole surface of the country. It might be comprised in a line which, commencing at Nantes, would pass through Pornic, the Isle of Noirmoutiers, Les Sables, Luçon, Fontenay, Niort, and Parthenay, and return by Airvault, Thouars, Doué, and St. Florent, to the Loire. The insurrection, begun by men who were not superior to the peasants whom they commanded, excepting by their natural qualities, was soon continued by men of a higher rank. The peasants went to the mansions and forced the nobles to put themselves at their head. The whole Marais insisted on being commanded by Charette.* He belonged to a family of shipowners at Nantes; he had served in the navy, in which he had become lieutenant, and at the peace had retired to a mansion belonging to his uncle, where he spent his time in field sports. Of a weak and delicate constitution, he seemed to be unfit for the fatigues of war; but living in the woods, where he passed whole months, sleeping on the ground with the huntsmen, he had hardened, and made himself perfectly acquainted with the country, and was known to all the peasantry for his address and courage. He hesitated at first to accept the command, representing to the insurgents the dangers of the undertaking. He nevertheless complied with their earnest desire; and by allowing them to commit all sorts of excesses, he compromised them, and bound them irrevocably to his service. Skilful, crafty, of a harsh disposition, and unconquerably obstinate, he became the most formidable of the Vendean chieftains. All the Marais obeyed him, and with fifteen and sometimes twenty thousand men he threatened Les Sables and Nantes. No sooner were all his men collected than he took possession of the Isle of Noirmoutiers, an important island, which he could convert into his fortress, and his point of communication with the English.

In the Bocage the peasants applied to MM. de Bonchamps, d'Elbée,† and de Larochefoucauld, and forced them from their mansions to place them at their head. M. de Bonchamps had formerly served under M. de Suffren, had become an excellent officer, and combined great intrepidity with a noble

* See Appendix FFFF.

† See Appendix GGGG.

and elevated character. He commanded all the insurgents of Anjou and the banks of the Loire. M. d'Elbée had also been in the service, and united to excessive devotion a persevering disposition, and great skill in that sort of warfare. He was at the moment the most popular chief in that part of the Bocage. He commanded the parishes around Chollet and Bois-Préau. Cathelineau and Stofflet retained their commands, earned by the confidence which they inspired, and joined MM. de Bonchamps and d'Elbée, for the purpose of marching upon Bressuire, where General Quétineau then was. That officer had caused the Lescure family to be carried off from the château of Clisson, where he suspected it to be conspiring, and confined it at Bressuire. Henri de Larochejaquelein, a young gentleman formerly belonging to the King's guard, and now living in retirement in the Bocage, happened to be at Clisson, with his cousin de Lescure.* He escaped, and raised the Aubiers, where he was born, and all the parishes around Chatillon. He afterwards joined the other chiefs, and with them forced General Quétineau to retreat from Bressuire. M. de Lescure was then set at liberty with his family. He was a young man, of about the age of Henri de Larochejaquelein.† He was calm, prudent, possessing a cool intrepidity that nothing could shake, and to these qualities he added a rare spirit of justice. Henri, his cousin, had heroic and frequently too impetuous bravery; he was fiery and generous. M. de Lescure now put himself at the head of his peasantry, who collected around him, and all the chiefs joined at Bressuire, with the intention of marching upon Thouars. Their ladies distributed cockades and colours; the people heightened their enthusiasm by songs, and marched as to a crusade. The army was not encumbered with baggage; the peasants, who would never stay long away, carried with them the bread requisite for each expedition, and in extraordinary cases the parishes, on being apprized, prepared provisions for those who ran short of them. The army was composed of about thirty thousand men, and was called the royal and Catholic grand army. It faced Angers, Saumur, Doué, Thouars, and Parthenay. Between this army and that of the Marais, commanded by Charette, were several intermediate assemblages, the principal of which, under M. de Royrand, might amount to ten or twelve thousand men.

The main army, commanded by MM. de Bonchamps, d'Elbée, de Lescure, de Larochejaquelein, Cathelineau, and Stofflet,

* See Appendix HHHH.

† See Appendix IIII.



arrived before Thouars on the 3rd of May, and prepared to attack it on the morning of the 4th. It was necessary to cross the Thoué, which almost completely surrounds the town of Thouars. General Quétineau ordered the passages to be defended. The Vendéans kept up a cannonade for some time with artillery taken from the republicans, and a fire of musketry from the bank, with their usual success. M. de Lescure then resolved to attempt the passage, and advanced amidst the balls, by which his clothes were perforated, but could induce only a single peasant to follow him. Larochejaquelein hastened up, followed by his people. They crossed the bridge, and the republicans were driven back into the town. It was necessary to make a breach; but this they had not the means of effecting. Henri de Larochejaquelein, hoisted up on the shoulders of his men, had nearly reached the ramparts. M. d'Elbée made a vigorous attack on his side, and Quétineau, unable to resist, consented to surrender in order to prevent mischief to the town. The Vendéans, owing to their chiefs, behaved with moderation; no outrages were committed upon the inhabitants, and the conquerors contented themselves with burning the tree of liberty and the papers of the administrations. General Lescure repaid Quétineau the attentions which he had received from him during his detention at Bressuire, and strove to persuade him to stay with the Vendean army, in order to escape the severity of the government, which, regardless of the impossibility of resistance, would perhaps punish him for having surrendered. Quétineau generously refused, and determined to return to the republicans and demand a trial.*

These tidings from La Vendée, concurring with those from the North, where Dampierre was receiving checks from the Austrians; with those from the Pyrenees, where the Spaniards

* "All the chiefs lodged in the same house with General Quétineau. Lescure, who had known him a grenadier, and looked on him as a man of honour, took him to his own apartment, and said, 'You have your liberty, Sir, and may leave us when you please; but I would advise you to remain with us. We differ in opinion, therefore we shall not expect you to fight for us; but you will be a prisoner on parole, and you shall be well treated. If you return to the republicans, they will never pardon you your capitulation, which was, however, unavoidable. It is an asylum I offer you from their vengeance.' Quétineau replied, 'I shall be thought a traitor if I go with you; there will then be no doubt that I betrayed the town, although I only advised a capitulation at the moment it was taken by assault. It is in my power to prove that I did my duty; but I should be dishonoured if they could suppose me in intelligence with the enemy.' This brave man continued inflexible in his resolution, although others renewed, but in vain, the proposals M. de Lescure had made him. This sincerity and devotion to his principles acquired him the esteem of all our chiefs. He never lowered himself by any supplication, and always preserved a firm and dignified tone."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.*

assumed a threatening position ; with the accounts from several provinces, where most unfavourable dispositions were manifested—these tidings excited the strongest ferment. Several departments contiguous to La Vendée, on learning the success of the insurgents, conceived themselves authorized to send troops to oppose them. The department of l'Herault raised six millions in money, and six thousand men, and sent an address to the people of Paris, exhorting them to do the same. The Convention, encouraging this enthusiasm, approved the conduct of the department of l'Herault, and thereby authorized all the communes of France to perform acts of sovereignty by raising men and money.

The commune of Paris did not remain behindhand. It declared that it was for the people of Paris to save France, and it hastened to prove its zeal and to exercise its authority by raising an army. It immediately resolved that, agreeably to the *solemn approbation bestowed by the Convention on the conduct of the department of l'Herault*, an army of twelve thousand men should be raised in the city of Paris, to be sent against La Vendée. After the example of the Convention, the general council of the commune appointed commissioners to accompany this army. These twelve thousand men were to be taken from the companies of the armed sections, and each company of one hundred and twenty-six was to furnish fourteen. According to the revolutionary practice, a kind of dictatorial power was left to the revolutionary committee of each section, to point out those whose departure would be attended with the least inconvenience. The resolution of the commune was consequently thus formed: All the unmarried clerks in all the public offices in Paris, excepting the *chefs* and *sous-chefs*, the clerks of notaries and solicitors, the clerks of bankers and merchants, shopmen, attendants on the offices, &c., . . . shall be required in the undermentioned proportions : out of two, one shall go ; out of three, two ; out of four, two ; out of five, three ; out of six, three ; out of seven, four ; out of eight, four ; and so on. Such clerks of public offices as go, shall retain their places and one-third of their salary. None shall be at liberty to refuse to go. The citizens required shall inform the committee of their section what they need for their equipment, and it shall be supplied forthwith. They shall meet immediately afterwards to appoint their officers, and thenceforth obey their orders.

But it was not enough to raise an army, and to form it in such a violent manner ; it was necessary also to provide for the expenses of its maintenance, and to this end it was agreed

to apply to the rich. The rich, it was said, would not do anything for the defence of the country and of the Revolution; they lived in happy idleness, and left the people to spill their blood for the country; it was right to make them contribute by means of their wealth to the general welfare. To this end it was proposed to raise a forced loan, to be furnished by the citizens of Paris, according to the amount of their incomes. From an income of one thousand francs to fifty thousand, they were to furnish a proportionate sum, amounting to from thirty francs to twenty thousand. All those who had above fifty thousand francs were to reserve thirty thousand for themselves, and to give up all the rest. The property, movable and immovable, of those who should not have paid this patriotic contribution was to be seized and sold at the requisition of the revolutionary committees, and their persons were to be considered as suspicious.

Such measures, which would reach all classes, either by laying hold of persons, to oblige them to take arms, or of fortunes, to make them contribute, could not fail to produce a violent resistance in the sections. We have already seen that there were dissensions among them, and that they were more or less agitated, according to the proportion of the low people that happened to be among them. In some, and especially in the Quinze-Vingts, the Gravilliers, and the Halle-au-Blé, the new recruits declared that they would not march while any federalists and paid troops which served, it was said, as *body-guards* for the Convention, should remain in Paris. These resisted from a spirit of Jacobinism; but many others resisted from a contrary cause. The population of clerks and shopmen reappeared in the sections and manifested a strong opposition to the two resolutions of the commune. They were joined by the old servants of the fugitive aristocracy, who contributed greatly to agitate Paris; crowds assembled in the streets and in the public places, shouting *Down with the Jacobins! Down with the Mountain!* and the same obstacles which the revolutionary system had to encounter in the provinces it encountered on this occasion in Paris.

There was then one general outcry against the aristocracy of the sections. Marat said that Messieurs the shopkeepers, the solicitors, the clerks, were conspiring with Messieurs of the right side and Messieurs the rich, to oppose the Revolution; that they ought to be all apprehended as suspicious persons, and reduced to the class of *sans-culottes*, by not leaving

them wherewith to cover their loins (*en ne pas leur laissant de quoi se couvrir le derrière*).

Chaumette, *procureur* of the commune, made a long speech, in which he deplored the wretched state of the country, arising, he said, from the perfidy of the governors, the selfishness of the opulent, the ignorance of the people, the weariness and disgust of many of the citizens for the public cause. He proposed, therefore, and caused a resolution to be passed, that application should be made to the Convention for the means of public instruction, the means of overcoming the selfishness of the rich, and relieving the poor; that there should be formed an assembly composed of the presidents of the revolutionary committees of the sections, and of deputies from all the administrative bodies; that this assembly should meet on Sundays and Thursdays at the commune to consider the dangers of the public welfare; that, lastly, all good citizens should be invited to attend the sectional assemblies, in order to give patriotism the predominance there.

Danton, ever prompt at finding resources in moments of difficulty, proposed to form two armies of *sans-culottes*. One was to march to La Vendée, the other to remain in Paris, to curb the aristocracy; to pay both at the expense of the rich; and lastly, in order to secure a majority in the sections, to pay the citizens who should lose their time in attending their meetings. Robespierre, borrowing Danton's ideas, developed them at the Jacobins, and further proposed to form new classes of suspicious persons—not to confine them, as before, to the *ci-devant* nobles, priests, or financiers, but to include all the citizens who should in any way have exhibited proofs of disaffection to the public welfare; to confine them till the peace; to accelerate the action of the revolutionary tribunal; and to counteract the effect of the bad newspapers by new means of communication. With all these resources, he said, they might be able, without any illegal means, without any violation of the laws, to withstand the other party and its machinations.

All these ideas were directed, then, towards one end—to arm the populace; to keep one part of it at home, and to send another away; to arm it at the expense of the rich, and to make it even attend all the deliberative assemblies at their expense; to confine all the enemies of the Revolution under the denomination of suspicious persons, much more largely defined than it had ever yet been; to establish a medium of correspondence between the commune and the sections, and for this purpose to create a new revolutionary

assembly which should resort to new means, that is to say, insurrection. The assembly of the Evêché, previously dissolved, but now revived, on the proposal of Chaumette, and with a much more imposing character, was evidently destined to this end.

From the 8th to the 10th of May one alarming piece of intelligence succeeded another. In the army of the North, Dampierre had been killed. In the interior the provinces continued to revolt. All Normandy seemed ready to join Bretagne. The insurgents of La Vendée had advanced from Thouars to Loudun and Montreuil, taken those two towns, and thus almost reached the banks of the Loire. The English, landing on the coasts of Bretagne, were come, it was said, to join them, and to attack the very heart of the republic. The citizens of Bordeaux, indignant at the treatment experienced by their deputies, had assumed the most threatening attitude, and disarmed a section to which the Jacobins had retired. At Marseilles the sections were in full insurrection. Disgusted by the outrages committed upon the pretext of disarming suspected persons, they had met, turned out the commune, transferred its powers to a committee called the central committee of the sections, and instituted a popular tribunal to prosecute the authors of the murders and pillages. After taking these measures in their own city, they had sent deputies to the sections of the city of Aix, and were striving to propagate their example throughout the whole department. Not sparing even the commissioners of the Convention, they had seized their papers, and insisted on their retiring. At Lyons, too, there were serious disturbances. The administrative bodies, united with the Jacobins, having ordered, in imitation of Paris, a levy of six millions in money and six thousand men, having moreover attempted to carry into effect the disarming of suspected persons, and to institute a revolutionary tribunal, the sections had revolted, and were on the point of coming to blows with the commune. Thus, while the enemy was advancing on the North, insurrection, setting out from Bretagne and La Vendée, and supported by the English, was likely to make the tour of France by Bordeaux, Rouen, Nantes, Marseilles, and Lyons.* These tidings, arriving

* "Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons had declared themselves against the Jacobin supremacy. Rich from commerce and their maritime situation, and in the case of Lyons, from their command of internal navigation, the wealthy merchants and manufacturers of these cities foresaw the total insecurity of property, and in consequence, their own ruin, in the system of arbitrary spoliation and murder upon which the government of the Jacobins was founded."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

one after another, in the space of two or three days, between the 12th and 15th of May, excited the most gloomy forebodings in the minds of the Mountaineers and the Jacobins. The measures already proposed were again urged with still greater vehemence: they insisted that all the waiters at taverns and coffee-houses, and all domestic servants, should set off immediately; that the popular societies should march in a body; that commissioners of the Assembly should repair forthwith to the sections to compel them to furnish their contingents; that thirty thousand men should be sent off by post in carriages kept for luxury; that the rich should contribute without delay, and give a tenth of their fortune; that suspicious persons should be imprisoned and kept as hostages; that the conduct of the ministers should be investigated; that the committee of public welfare should be directed to draw up an address to the citizens whose opinion had been led astray; that all civil business should be laid aside; that the activity of the civil tribunals should be suspended; that the theatres should be closed; that the tocsin should be sounded and the alarm-gun fired.

In order to infuse some assurance amidst this general consternation, Danton made two remarks: the first was, that the fear of stripping Paris of the good citizens who were necessary for its safety ought not to prevent the recruiting, since there would still be left in Paris one hundred and fifty thousand men, ready to rise and to exterminate the aristocrats who should dare to show themselves; the second was, that the agitation of civil war, instead of being a subject of hope, must on the contrary be a subject of terror to the foreign enemy. "Montesquieu," said he, "has already remarked, with reference to the Romans, that a people all whose hands are armed and exercised, all whose souls are inured to war, all whose minds are excited, all whose passions are changed into a mania for fighting—such a people has nothing to fear from the cold and mercenary courage of foreign soldiers. The weaker of the two parties arrayed against each other by civil war would always be strong enough to destroy the puppets in whom discipline cannot supply the place of life and fire."

It was immediately ordered that ninety-six commissioners should repair to the sections, in order to obtain their contingents, and that the committee of public welfare should continue its functions for another month. Custine was appointed general of the army of the North, and Houchard* of the army of the

* See Appendix JJJJ.

Rhine. The distribution of the armies around the frontiers was fixed. Cambon presented a plan for a forced loan of one thousand millions, which should be furnished by the rich, and for which the property of the emigrants should be pledged. "It is one way," said he, "of obliging the rich to take part in the Revolution, by forcing them to purchase a portion of the national domains if they wish to pay themselves for their credit upon the pledge itself."

The commune, on its part, resolved that a second army of *sans-culottes* should be raised in Paris to awe the aristocracy, while the first should march against the rebels; that a general imprisonment of all suspected persons should take place; and that the central assembly of the sections, composed of the administrative authorities, of the presidents of the sections, of the members of the revolutionary committees, should meet as soon as possible, to make the assessment of the forced loan, and to draw up the lists of suspected persons.

Discord was now at its height. On the one hand, it was alleged that the aristocrats abroad and those at home were leagued together; that the conspirators of Marseilles, La Vendée, and Normandy acted in concert; that the members of the right side directed that vast conspiracy; and that the tumult of the sections was but the result of their intrigues in Paris: on the other, all the excesses committed in all parts were attributed to the Mountain, to which was imputed a design to convulse France, and to murder the twenty-two deputies. On both sides, people asked how they were to extricate themselves from this peril, and what was to be done to save the republic. The members of the right side mustered their courage, and advised some act of extraordinary energy. Certain sections, such as those of the Mail and the Buttes-des-Moulins, and several others, strongly supported them, and refused to send commissioners to the central assembly formed at the *mairie*. They refused to subscribe to the forced loan, saying that they would provide for the maintenance of their own volunteers, and opposed the new list of suspected persons, alleging that their own revolutionary committee was adequate to the superintendence of the police within its own jurisdiction. The Mountaineers, the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, the members of the commune, on the contrary, cried treason, and everywhere repeated that things must be brought to a point, and that it behoved them to unite, and to take measures for saving the republic from the conspiracy of the twenty-two. At the Cordeliers it was said openly that they ought to be seized and put to death. In an assembly composed of

furious women it was proposed to take occasion of the first tumult in the Convention, and to despatch them. These furies carried daggers, made a great noise every day in the tribunes, and declared that they would themselves save the republic. The number of these daggers was everywhere talked of; a single cutler in the Faubourg St. Antoine had made several hundred. People belonging to both parties went armed, and carried about them all the means of attack and defence. There was as yet no decided plot; but the passions were in that state of excitement at which the slightest occurrence is sufficient to produce an explosion. At the Jacobins measures of all sorts were proposed. It was alleged that the acts of accusation directed by the commune against the twenty-two did not prevent them from retaining their seats, and that consequently an act of popular energy was required; that the citizens destined for La Vendée ought not to depart before they had saved the country; that the people had the power to save it, but that it was necessary to point out to them the means, and that to this end a committee of five members ought to be appointed, and allowed by the society to have secrets of its own. Others replied, that there was no occasion for reserve in the society, that it was useless to pretend to conceal anything, and that it was high time to act openly. Robespierre, who deemed these declarations imprudent, opposed illegal means, and asked if they had exhausted all the useful and safer means which he had proposed. "Have you organized your revolutionary army?" said he. "Have you done what is needful for paying the *sans-culottes* called to arms, or sitting in the sections? Have you secured the suspected? Have you covered your public places with forges and workshops? You have, then, employed none of the judicious and natural measures which would not compromise the patriots; and you suffer men who know nothing about the public welfare to propose measures which are the cause of all the calumnies poured forth against you! It is not till you have tried all the legal means that you ought to recur to violent means; and even then it is not right to propose them in a society which ought to be discreet and politic. I am aware," added Robespierre, "that I shall be accused of *moderation*; but I am too well known to be afraid of such imputations."

In this instance, as before the 10th of August, people felt the necessity of adopting a course; they roved from scheme to scheme; they called for a meeting wherein they might come to an understanding with one another. The assembly of the

mairie had been formed, but the department was not present at it; only one of its members, the Jacobin Dufournay, had attended; several sections kept away; the mayor had not yet appeared, and it had adjourned the consideration of the object of the meeting to Sunday, the 19th of May. Though this object, as fixed by the resolution of the commune, was apparently very limited, yet the same language had been held in that assembly as everywhere else, and it admitted there, as in all other places, that a new 10th of August was wanted. Nothing more had been ventured upon, however, than foul language and club exaggerations: women had attended along with the men, and this tumultuous assemblage displayed only the same licentiousness of spirit and language as all the other public meetings exhibited.

The 15th, 16th, and 17th of May passed in agitation, and everything was made an occasion of quarrel and uproar in the Assembly. The people of Bordeaux sent an address, in which they announced their intention of rising to support their deputies. They declared that one portion of them would march to La Vendée to fight the rebels, while the other would march to Paris to exterminate the anarchists who should dare to offer violence to the national representation. A letter from Marseilles intimated that the sections of that city persisted in their opposition. A petition from Lyons claimed relief for fifteen hundred prisoners, confined as suspected persons, and threatened with the revolutionary tribunal by Chaliér and the Jacobins. These petitions excited a tremendous tumult. In the Assembly, as in the tribunes, the parties seemed on the point of coming to blows. Meanwhile the right side, roused by the danger, communicated its courage to the Plain, and a great majority decreed that the petition of the Bordelais was a model of patriotism, annulled every revolutionary tribunal erected by the local authorities, and authorized the citizens whom any attempt should be made to bring before it, to repel force by force. These decisions kindled at once the indignation of the Mountain and the courage of the right side. On the 18th the irritation had attained the highest pitch. The Mountain, deprived of a great number of its members sent as commissioners into the departments and to the armies, cried out against oppression. Guadet immediately solicited permission to speak, for the purpose of making an historical application to present circumstances, and he seemed to foretell in a fearful manner the destiny of the parties. "In England," said he, "when a generous majority endeavoured to oppose the fury of a factious minority, that minority cried out against oppression.

and succeeded by means of that cry in oppressing the majority itself. It called around it the patriots *par excellence*. Such was the appellation assumed by a misled multitude, to which it promised pillage and a division of lands. This continued appeal to the patriots *par excellence* against the oppression of the majority led to the proceeding known by the name of the *purgation of the parliament*—a proceeding in which Pride, who from a butcher had become a colonel, was the chief actor. One hundred and fifty members were expelled from the parliament-house, and the minority, consisting of fifty or sixty members, were left masters of the State. What was the result? These patriots *par excellence*, tools of Cromwell, and whom he led to the commission of folly after folly, were expelled in their turn. Their own crimes served as a pretext to the usurper.”

Here Guadet, pointing to Legendre, the butcher, Danton, Lacroix, and all the other deputies accused of dissolute manners and peculations, thus proceeded: “Cromwell went one day to the parliament-house, and addressing these same members, who alone, according to their own assertions, were capable of saving the country, he bade them begone, saying to one, Thou art a robber; to another, Thou art a drunkard; to this, Thou hast fattened upon the public money; to that, Thou art a whoremaster and frequentest places of bad repute. Begone, then, all of you, and give place to godly men. They did give place, and Cromwell took it.”

This striking and terrible allusion made a profound impression upon the Assembly, which remained silent. Guadet proceeded, and in order to prevent such a purgation, proposed various measures of police, which the Assembly adopted amidst murmurs. But while he was returning to his seat a scandalous scene took place in the tribunes. A woman had laid hold of a man for the purpose of turning him out of the hall; she was seconded on all sides, and the poor fellow, who struggled hard, was on the point of being attacked by the whole population of the tribunes. The guard strove in vain to restore tranquillity. Marat exclaimed that this man whom they wanted to turn out was an aristocrat. The Assembly was indignant against Marat, because he increased the unfortunate man's danger, and exposed him to the risk of assassination. He replied that he should not be easy till they were delivered from aristocrats, accomplices of Dumouriez, *statesmen*, . . . so he called the members of the right side on account of their reputation for abilities.

Isnard, the president, took off his hat, and said that he had

an important communication to make. The Assembly listened in profound silence. In a tone of the deepest grief, he said, "A plan devised in England, with which it is my duty to acquaint you, has been revealed to me. It is the object of Pitt to arm one point of the people against the other, by urging it to insurrection. This insurrection is to be commenced by women; they will attack several deputies, murder them, dissolve the National Convention, and this moment will be chosen to effect a landing upon our coasts. Such," concluded Isnard, "is the declaration which I owe to my country."

The majority applauded Isnard. His communication was ordered to be printed; it was again decreed that the deputies should not separate, and that they should share all dangers in common. Some explanation was then given respecting the disturbances in the tribunes. It was said that the women who made them belonged to a society called *The Fraternity*, that they came for the purpose of occupying the hall, excluding strangers and the federalists of the departments from it, and interrupting the deliberations by their hootings. Marat, who had kept pacing the corridors, passing from one bench in the hall to another, and talking of *statesmen*, pointed to one of the members of the right side, saying, "Thou art one of them—yes, thou; but the people will do justice on thee and the rest." Guadet then rushed to the tribune, to provoke amidst this danger a courageous determination. He dwelt on all the commotions of which Paris was the theatre, the expressions used in the popular assemblies, the horrid language held at the Jacobins, the plans brought forward in the assembly which met at the *mairie*: he declared that the tumults which they witnessed had no other design than to bring about a scene of confusion, amidst which the meditated murders were to be executed. Interrupted every moment, he nevertheless contrived to make himself heard till he had finished, and proposed two measures of heroic but impracticable energy.

"The evil lies," said he, "in the anarchical authorities of Paris: I propose to you, then, to cashier them, and to replace them by all the presidents of sections.

"The Convention being no longer free, it is requisite that another assembly be convoked in some other place, and that a decree be passed directing all the new deputies to meet at Bourges, and to be ready to constitute themselves there in convention, at the first signal that you shall give them, or on the first intimation they shall receive of the dissolution of the Convention."

At this twofold proposition a tremendous uproar ensued

in the Assembly. All the members of the right side rose, crying out that this was the only medium of safety, and seemingly grateful to the bold genius of Guadet which had devised it. The left side also rose, threatened its adversaries, cried out, in its turn, that the conspiracy was at length discovered, that the conspirators were unmasked, and that their designs against the unity of the republic were avowed. Danton would have ascended the tribune, but he was stopped; and Barrère was permitted to occupy it in the name of the committee of public welfare.

Barrère, with his insinuating address, and his conciliatory tone, said that if he had been allowed to speak, he could several days before have revealed many facts respecting the state of France. He then stated that a plan for dissolving the Convention was everywhere talked of; that the president of the section had heard Chaumette, the *procureur*, use language which seemed to indicate that intention; that at the Evêché, and at another assembly held at the *mairie*, the same question had been brought forward; that, in order to effect this object, the scheme was to excite a tumult, to employ women to raise it, and to take the lives of thirty-two deputies under favour of the disturbance. Barrère added that the minister for foreign affairs and the minister of the interior must be in possession of information on the subject, and that it would be right to hear what they had to say. Then advertng to the proposed measures, he added that he was of the same opinion as Guadet respecting the authorities of Paris; he found a feeble department, sections acting as sovereigns, a commune instigated to all sorts of excesses by Chaumette, its *procureur*, formerly a monk, and a suspicious character, like all the *ci-devant* priests and nobles; but he thought that the cashiering of these authorities would produce an anarchical uproar. As for the assemblage of new representatives at Bourges, that could not save the Convention, or furnish a substitute for it. There was, he conceived, a way to ward off the real dangers which surrounded them without plunging into too great inconveniences; this was, to appoint a commission of twelve members, empowered to verify the acts of the commune during the last month; to investigate the plots hatched within the republic, and the designs formed against the national representation; to collect from all the committees, from all the ministers, from all the authorities, such information as it should need; and lastly, be authorized to dispose of all the means requisite for securing the persons of the conspirators.

The first ebullition of enthusiasm and courage over, the majority eagerly adopted this conciliatory scheme of Barrère. Nothing was more common than to appoint commissions; on every occurrence, on every danger, for every want, a committee was appointed to attend to it; and the moment the individuals were nominated to carry anything into execution, the Assembly seemed to take it for granted that the thing was executed, and that, for its sake, committees would have courage, or intelligence, or energy. This last was not likely to be deficient in energy, and it was composed of deputies almost all belonging to the right side. It included, among others, Boyer-Fonfrède, Rabaut St. Etienne, Kervelegan, Henri Larivière,* all members of La Gironde. But the very energy of this committee was fated to prove baneful to it. Instituted for the purpose of screening the Convention from the movements of the Jacobins, it served only to excite them still more, and to increase the danger which it was designed to dispel. The Jacobins had threatened the Girondins by their daily cries; the Girondins replied to the threat by instituting a commission; and this menace the Jacobins finally answered by a fatal stroke, that of the 31st of May and the 2nd of June.

No sooner was this commission appointed than the popular societies raised an outcry, as usual, against the inquisition and martial law. The assembly at the *mairie*, adjourned to Sunday, the 19th, accordingly met, and was more numerous than in the preceding sittings. The mayor, however, was not there, and an administrator of police presided. Some sections did not attend, and there were not more than thirty-five which had sent their representatives. The assembly called itself the *Central Revolutionary Committee*. It was agreed at the outset to commit nothing to writing, to keep no minutes, and to prevent every one who wished to retire from departing before the sitting was over. The next point was to fix upon the subjects of their future deliberations. Their real and avowed object was the loan and the list of suspected persons; nevertheless the very first words began with stating that the patriots of the Convention had not the power to save the commonwealth; that it was necessary to make amends for their impotence, and for this purpose to search after suspected persons, whether in the administrations, in the sections, or in the Convention itself, and to secure them for the purpose of putting it out of their power to do further mischief. A

* See Appendix KKKK.

member, speaking coldly and slowly, said that he knew of no suspected persons but in the Convention, and it was there that the blow ought to be struck. He therefore proposed a very simple method, namely, to seize the twenty-two deputies, to convey them to a house in the faubourgs, to put them to death, and to forge letters to induce a belief that they had emigrated. "We will not do this ourselves," added this man; "but with money it will be easy for us to find executioners." Another member immediately replied that this measure was impracticable, and that it would be right to wait till Marat and Robespierre had proposed at the Jacobins their means of insurrection, which would no doubt be preferable. "Silence!" cried several voices, "no names must be mentioned." A third member, a deputy of the section in 1792, represented that it was wrong to commit murder, and that there were tribunals for trying the enemies of the Revolution. On this observation a great tumult arose. The doctrine of the person who had just spoken was condemned; it was said that such men only as could raise themselves to a level with circumstances ought to be tolerated, and that it was the duty of every one to denounce his neighbour if he suspected his energy. The person who had presumed to talk of laws and tribunals was forthwith expelled from the assembly. It was perceived at the same time that a member of the section of La Fraternité, a section very unfavourably disposed towards the Jacobins, was taking notes, and he was turned out like the other. The assembly continued to deliberate in the same tone on the proscription of the deputies, on the place to be selected for this *Septembrization*, and for the imprisonment of the other suspected persons, whether of the commune or of the sections. A member proposed that the execution should take place that very night. He was told that it was not possible; on which he replied that there were men in readiness, adding that Coligny was at Court at twelve o'clock at night, and dead at one.

Meanwhile time passed away, and the consideration of these various subjects was deferred till the following day. It was agreed that they should confine themselves to three points: (1) the seizure of the deputies; (2) the list of suspected persons; (3) the purification of the public offices and committees. The meeting adjourned till six in the evening of the next day.

Accordingly, on Monday, the 20th, the assembly again met. This time Pache was present. Several lists, containing names of all sorts, were handed to him. He observed that it was

wrong to give them any other designation than lists of suspected persons, which was legal, since those lists had been ordered. Some members observed that they ought to take care, lest the handwriting of any member should be known, and that it would be well to have fresh copies made of the lists. Others said that republicans ought not to be afraid of anything. Pache added that he cared not who knew that he was furnished with these lists, for they concerned the police of Paris, which was under his superintendence. The subtle and reserved character of Pache was duly sustained; and he was desirous of bringing all that was required of him within the limits of the law and of his functions.

A member, noticing these precautions, then said that he was no doubt unacquainted with what had passed in the sitting of the preceding day, and with the order of the questions, which it was right to apprise him of; and that the first related to the seizure of twenty-two deputies. Pache observed that the persons of the deputies were under the safeguard of the city of Paris; that any attempt upon their lives would compromise the capital with the departments, and provoke a civil war. He was then asked how it happened that he had signed the petition presented on the 15th of April in the name of the forty-eight sections of Paris against the twenty-two. Pache replied that he then did his duty in signing a petition which he had been instructed to present; but that the question now proposed was not comprehended in the powers of the assembly there met to consider the loan and suspected persons, and that he should be obliged to put an end to the sitting if such discussions were persisted in. On these observations a great uproar ensued; and as nothing could be done in the presence of Pache, and the assembly did not choose to confine its attention to the mere lists of suspected persons, it adjourned *sine die*.

On Tuesday, the 21st, there were only about a dozen members present. Some would no longer attend the meetings of so tumultuous and so violent an assembly; others thought that it was not possible to deliberate there with sufficient energy.

It was at the Cordeliers that all the fury of the conspirators vented itself on the following day. Women as well as men uttered horrible threats. It was a prompt insurrection that they required; and not content with a sacrifice of twenty-two deputies, they insisted on that of three hundred. A woman, speaking with all the vehemence of her sex, proposed to assemble all the citizens in the Place de la Réunion, to go in a body to present a petition to the Convention, and not to

stir till they had wrung from it the decrees indispensable for the public welfare. Young Varlet, who had long been conspicuous in all the commotions, presented in a few articles a plan of insurrection. He proposed to repair to the Convention, carrying the rights of man covered with crape, to seize all the deputies who had belonged to the Legislative and the Constituent Assemblies, to cashier all the ministers, to destroy all that were left of the family of the Bourbons, &c. After him Legendre pressed forward to the tribune, for the purpose of opposing these suggestions. The utmost efforts of his voice could scarcely overcome the cries and yells raised against him, and it was not without the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in stating his objections to the inflammatory motions of young Varlet. It was nevertheless insisted that a time should be fixed for the insurrection; it was also proposed that a day should be appointed to go and demand what was required of the Convention; but the night being now advanced, the meeting broke up without coming to any decision.

All Paris was already informed of what had been said, as well at the two meetings held at the *mairie* on the 19th and 20th, as at the sitting of the Cordeliers on the 22nd. Many of the members of the Central Revolutionary Committee had themselves denounced the language used and the motions made there; and the rumour of a plot against a great number of citizens and deputies was universally circulated. The Commission of Twelve was apprized of what had passed, even to the minutest circumstances, and prepared to act against the designated authors of the most violent propositions.

The section of La Fraternité formally denounced them on the 24th in an address to the Convention; it stated all that had been said and done at the meeting held at the *mairie*, and loudly condemned the mayor for having attended it. The right side covered this courageous denunciation with applause, and moved that Pache should be summoned to the bar. Marat replied that the conspirators were the very members themselves of the right side; that Valazé, at whose house they met every day, had advised them to arm themselves; and that they had carried pistols with them to the Convention. "Yes," replied Valazé, "I did give that advice, because it became necessary for us to defend our lives, and most assuredly we should have defended them." "That we should!" emphatically exclaimed all the members of the right side. Lasource added a very important fact, that the conspirators, apparently conceiving that the execution was fixed for the preceding night, had come to his house to carry him off.

At this moment intelligence was received that the Commission of Twelve was in possession of all the information necessary for discovering the plot and prosecuting its authors, and that a report from it might be expected on the following day. The Convention meanwhile declared that the section of La Fraternité had deserved well of the country.

The same evening there was a great uproar at the municipality against the section of La Fraternité, which, it was alleged, had calumniated the mayor and the patriots, in supposing that they had a design to murder the national representatives. Since this project had been only a proposition, opposed, besides, by the mayor, Chaumette and the commune inferred that it was a calumny to suppose the existence of any real conspiracy. Most certainly it was not a conspiracy in the true signification of the word. It was not one of those deeply and secretly planned conspiracies which are framed in palaces; but it was one of those conspiracies which the rabble of a great city are capable of forming; it was the commencement of those popular projects, tumultuously proposed and executed by a misled mob, as on the 14th of July and the 10th of August. In this sense it was a real conspiracy. But such as these it is useless to attempt to stop, for they do not take ignorant and slumbering authority by surprise, but overpower openly and in the face of day authority forewarned and wide awake.

Next day two other sections, those of the Tuileries and the Butte-des-Moulins, joined that of La Fraternité in denouncing the same proceedings. "If reason cannot gain the ascendancy," said the Butte-des-Moulins, "make an appeal to the good citizens of Paris, and we can assure you beforehand that our section will contribute not a little to make those disguised royalists, who insolently assume the name of *sans-culottes*, shrink back again into the dust." The same day the mayor wrote to the Assembly, to explain what had passed at the *mairie*. "It was not a plot," said he, "it was a mere deliberation on the composition of the list of suspected persons. Some mischievous persons had certainly interrupted the deliberation by certain unreasonable suggestions; but he [Pache] had recalled to order those who were straying from it, and these movements of excited minds had no result."

Little account was taken of Pache's letter, and the Assembly listened to the Commission of Twelve, who came to propose a decree of general safety. This decree placed the national representation, and the buildings containing the public treasure,

under the safeguard of the good citizens. At the sound of the drums all were to repair to the rendezvous of the company of the quarter, and to march at the first signal that should be given them. No one was to absent himself from the rendezvous; and till the appointment of a commandant-general to succeed Santerre, who was gone to La Vendée, the oldest chief of the legions was to have the chief command. The meetings of sections were to break up by ten o'clock, and the presidents were rendered responsible for the execution of this article. The proposed decree was adopted entire, notwithstanding some discussion, and in spite of Danton, who said that in thus placing the Assembly and the public establishments under the safeguard of the citizens of Paris, they *decreed fear*.

Immediately after proposing this decree the Commission of Twelve gave orders at once for the apprehension of two persons named Marino and Michel, administrators of police, who were accused of having brought forward in the meeting at the *mairie* the propositions which caused such a sensation. It also caused Hebert, the deputy of the *procureur* of the commune, to be apprehended. This man wrote, under the name of *Père Duchêne*, a paper still more loathsome than that of Marat, and adapted, by its hideous and disgusting language, to the comprehension of the lowest of the rabble. In this paper Hebert circulated openly all that Marino and Michel were accused of having proposed verbally at the *mairie*. The Commission therefore deemed it right to prosecute both those who preached and those who intended to execute a new insurrection. No sooner was the order issued for Hebert's apprehension than he posted off at full speed to the commune to state what had happened, and to show the general council the order for his arrest. He was torn, he said, from his functions; but he should obey. At the same time the commune ought not to forget the oath it had taken, to consider itself as struck when a blow was given to one of its members. It was not for his own sake that he appealed to this oath, for he was ready to lay down his head on the scaffold, but for the sake of his fellow-citizens, who were threatened with a new slavery. Hebert was greeted with vehement applause. Chanumette, the chief *procureur*, embraced him, and the president kissed him, in behalf of the whole council. The sitting was declared permanent till they should have received tidings of Hebert. The members of the council were requested to convey consolation and relief to the wives and families of all those who were or should be imprisoned.

The sitting was permanent, and from hour to hour they

sent to the Commission of Twelve to obtain tidings of the magistrate, torn away, as they said, from his functions. At half-past two in the morning they learned that he was under examination, and that Varlet had also been apprehended. At four it was stated that Hebert had been sent to the Abbaye. At five Chaumette went to the prison to see him, but could not obtain admittance. In the morning the general council resolved upon a petition to the Convention, and sent it round by horsemen to the sections, in order to obtain their adhesion. Nearly all the sections were at variance among themselves; they were for changing every moment the bureau and the presidents, for preventing or effecting arrests, for adhering to or opposing the system of the commune, for signing or rejecting the petition which it proposed. At length this petition, approved by a great number of sections, was presented on the 28th to the Convention. The deputation of the commune complained of the calumnies circulated against the magistrates of the people; it desired that the petition of the section of La Fraternité should be transmitted to the public accuser, that the guilty, if there were any, or the calumniators, might be punished. Lastly, it demanded justice against the Commission of Twelve, which had committed an attack on the person of a magistrate of the people, by causing him to be withdrawn from his functions, and confining him in the Abbaye. Isnard presided at this moment, and it was his duty to answer the deputation. "Magistrates of the people," said he, in a grave and severe tone, "there is an urgent necessity for you to listen to important truths. France has committed her representatives to the care of the city of Paris. She wishes them to be in safety there. If the national representation were to be violated by one of those conspiracies by which we have been surrounded ever since the 10th of March, and of which the magistrates have been the last to apprize us, I declare, in the name of the republic, that Paris would feel the vengeance of France, and be erased from the list of cities."* This solemn and dignified answer produced a deep impression

* " 'Listen,' said Isnard, 'to my words. If ever the Convention is exposed to danger, if another of these insurrections breaks out, and we are outraged by an armed faction, France will rise as one man to avenge our cause; Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will be compelled to inquire on which bank of the Seine the city stood!' This indignant reply produced at the moment a great impression; and upon the continued refusal of Isnard to liberate Hebert, crowds from the benches of the Mountain rose to drag him from his seat. The Girondins assembled to defend him. In the midst of the tumult, Danton, in a voice of thunder, exclaimed, 'So much impudence is beyond belief! We will resist you. Let there be no longer any truce between the Mountain and the base men who wished to save the tyrant.'—*Mignet*."

upon the Assembly. A great number of voices desired that it should be printed. Danton maintained that it was likely to widen the breach which had already begun to separate Paris and the departments, and that they ought to avoid doing anything that tended to increase the mischief. The Convention, deeming the energy of the reply and the energy of the Commission of Twelve sufficient for the occasion, passed to the order of the day, without directing the president's answer to be printed.

The deputies of the commune were therefore dismissed without obtaining anything. All the rest of the 25th, and the whole of the 26th, were passed in tumultuous scenes in the sections. They were everywhere at variance; and the two opinions had by turns the upper hand, according to the hour of the day and the more or less numerous attendance of the members of each party. The commune continued to send deputies to inquire concerning Hebert. Once he had been found lying down; at another time he had begged the commune to make itself easy on his account. They complained that he had but a wretched pallet to sleep on. Some sections took him under their protection; others prepared to demand anew his release, and with more energy than the municipality had done. Lastly, women, running about the streets with a flag, endeavoured to persuade the people to go to the Abbaye and deliver their beloved magistrate.

On the 27th the tumult had reached the highest pitch. People went from one section to another to decide the advantage there by knocking each other down with chairs. At length, towards evening, about twenty-eight sections had concurred in expressing a wish for the release of Hebert, and in drawing up an imperative petition to the Convention. The Commission of Twelve, foreseeing the tumult that was preparing, had desired the commandant on duty to require the armed force of three sections, and had taken care to specify the sections of the Butte-des-Moulins, Lepelletier, and Mail, the most strongly attached to the right side, and ready even to fight for it. These three sections had cheerfully come forward, and about six in the evening of the 27th of May they were placed in the courts of the National Palace, on the side next to the Carrousel, with their arms, and cannon with lighted matches. They thus composed a respectable force, and one capable of protecting the national representation. But the crowd which thronged about their ranks and about the different doors of the palace, the tumult which prevailed, and the difficulty there was in getting into the hall,

gave to this scene the appearance of a siege. Some deputies had had great trouble to enter; they had even experienced some insults from the populace; and they excited some uneasiness in the Assembly by saying that it was besieged. This, however, was not the case, and if the doors were obstructed, ingress and egress were not denied. Appearances, however, were sufficient for irritated imaginations, and tumult prevailed in the Assembly. Isnard presided. The section of the Cité arrived, and demanded the liberty of its president, named Dobsen, apprehended by order of the Commission of Twelve, for having refused to communicate the registers of his section. It demanded also the liberation of the other prisoners, the suppression of the Commission of Twelve, and insisted that the members composing it should be put under accusation. "The Convention," replied Isnard, "forgives your youth. It will never suffer itself to be influenced by any portion of the people." The Convention approved the reply. Robespierre, on the contrary, was for passing a censure on it; the right side opposed this; a most violent contest ensued, and the noise within and that without contributed to produce a most frightful uproar. At this moment the mayor and the minister of the interior appeared at the bar, believing, as it was the talk in Paris, that the Convention was besieged. At the sight of the minister of the interior a general cry arose on all sides to call him to account for the state of Paris and the environs of the hall. Garat's situation was embarrassing; for it required him to pronounce between the two parties, which the mildness of his character and his political scepticism alike forbade him to do. Still, as this scepticism proceeded from a real impartiality of mind, he would have felt happy if the Assembly could at that moment listen to and understand him. He addressed it, and went back to the cause of the disturbances. The first cause, in his opinion, was the rumour which was circulated of a secret meeting formed at the *mairie*, for the purpose of plotting against the national representation. Garat then repeated what Pache had stated, that this meeting was not an assemblage of conspirators, but a legal meeting, having a known object; that if, in the absence of the mayor, some overheated minds had made guilty propositions, these propositions, repelled with indignation when the mayor was present, had had no result, and that it was impossible to regard this as a real plot; that the institution of the Commission of Twelve to investigate this alleged plot, and the apprehensions which had taken place by its order, had become the cause of the commotion which they then witnessed; that

he was not acquainted with Hebert, and had received no accounts of him that were unfavourable; that he merely knew that Hebert was the author of a kind of paper, despicable undoubtedly, but which it was wrong to consider as dangerous; that the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies had disdained to notice all the disgusting publications circulated against them, and that the severity exercised against Hebert could not fail to appear new, and perhaps unseasonable; that the Commission of Twelve, composed of worthy men and excellent patriots, was under the influence of singular prepossessions, and that it appeared to be too much actuated by the desire of displaying great energy. These words were loudly applauded by the left side and by the Mountain. Garat, then adverting to the present situation, declared that the Convention was not in danger, and that the citizens by whom it was surrounded were full of respect for it. At these words he was interrupted by a deputy, who said that he had been insulted. "Granted," replied Garat, "I cannot answer for what may happen to an individual amidst a crowd composed of persons of all sorts; but let the whole Convention in a body appear at the door, and I answer for it that the people will respectfully fall back before it, that they will hail its presence, and obey its injunctions."

Garat concluded by presenting some conciliatory views, and by intimating, with the greatest possible delicacy, that those who were for repressing the violence of the Jacobins only ran the risk of exciting it still more. Assuredly Garat was right; by placing yourself upon the defensive against a party, you only irritate it the more, and hasten the catastrophe; but when the conflict is inevitable, ought we to succumb without resistance? Such was the situation of the Girondins; their institution of the Commission of Twelve was an imprudence, but an inevitable and generous imprudence.

Garat, when he had finished, nobly seated himself on the right side, which was reputed to be in danger, and the Convention voted that his report should be printed and distributed. Pache spoke after Garat. He exhibited things nearly in the same light. He stated that the Assembly was guarded by three sections, which were attached to it, and which had been called out by the Commission of Twelve; he showed that in this the Commission of Twelve had transgressed its powers, for it had not a right to require the armed force. He added that a strong detachment had secured the prisons of the Abbaye against any infraction of the laws, that all danger was dispelled, and that the Assembly might consider itself in perfect safety.

He then begged that the Convention would be pleased to hear the citizens who came to solicit the release of the prisoners.

At these words loud murmurs arose in the Assembly. "It is ten o'clock," cried a member of the right side; "president, put an end to the sitting." "No, no," replied voices on the left; "hear the petitioners." Henri Larivière insisted on occupying the tribune. "If you desire to hear any one," said he, "you ought to hear your Commission of Twelve, which you accuse of tyranny, and which must make you acquainted with its acts, in order to enable you to appreciate them." His voice was drowned by loud murmurs. Isnard, finding it impossible to repress this disorder, left the arm-chair, which was taken by Hérault-Séchelles,* who was greeted by the applause of the tribunes. He consulted the Assembly, which, amidst threats, uproar, and confusion, voted that the sitting should be continued.

The speakers were conducted to the bar, followed by a host of petitioners. They insolently demanded the suppression of an odious and tyrannical commission, the release of the persons in confinement, and the *triumph of virtue*. "Citizens," replied Hérault-Séchelles, "*the force of reason and the force of the people are one and the same thing.*"† This dogmatic absurdity was received with thunders of applause. "You demand justice," added he; "justice is our first duty; you shall have it."

Other petitioners succeeded the former. Various speakers were then heard, and a *projet* of decree was drawn up by which the citizens imprisoned by the Commission of Twelve were released, the Commission of Twelve was dissolved, and its conduct referred for investigation to the committee of general welfare. The night was far advanced; the petitioners were introduced in crowds, and obstructed the hall. The darkness, the shouts, the tumult, the concourse, all contributed to increase the confusion. The decree was put to the vote, and passed without its being possible to tell whether it had been voted or not. Some said that the president had not been heard; others, that there was not a sufficient number of votes; others, again, that the petitioners had taken the seats of the absent deputies, and that the decree was invalid. It was nevertheless proclaimed, and the tribunes and the petitioners hurried away to inform the commune, the sections, the Jacobins, and the

* See Appendix LLLL.

† "It well became Hérault de Séchelles, during the struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde, impudently to violate all law, who had previously violated all reason, by exclaiming that 'the powers of the people and of reason were the same!'"—*Prudhomme*.

Cordeliers, that the prisoners were released, and the commission dissolved.*

These tidings produced great popular rejoicing and a momentary tranquillity in Paris. The face of the mayor himself seemed to express sincere satisfaction at seeing the disturbances appeased. The Girondins, however, being determined to fight to the last extremity, and not to resign the victory to their adversaries, met the following day, burning with indignation. Lanjuinais, in particular, who had taken no part in the animosities resulting from personal pride which divided the two sides of the Convention, and who was pardoned for his obstinacy, because he seemed to be actuated by no personal resentment—Lanjuinais came full of ardour and resolution to make the Assembly ashamed of its weakness on the preceding night. No sooner had Osselin moved the reading of the decree and its definitive preparation, in order that the prisoners might be forthwith released, than Lanjuinais rushed to the tribune and desired to be heard, for the purpose of maintaining that the decree was invalid and had never been passed. He was interrupted by violent murmurs. "Grant me silence," said he to the left, "for I am determined to remain here till you have heard me." It was insisted that Lanjuinais had no right to speak except with reference to the wording of the decree; yet, after doubtful trials, it was decided that Lanjuinais should have the benefit of the doubt and be heard. He then commenced his explanation, and asserted that the question before the Assembly was one of the greatest importance for the general safety. "More than fifty thousand citizens," said he, "have been imprisoned throughout all France by your commissioners; more arbitrary arrests have taken place in a month, than in a century under the old government; and yet you complain of the apprehension of two or three men who are preaching up murder and anarchy in penny publications. Your commissioners are proconsuls who act far away out of your sight, and whom you suffer to act; and your commission, placed by your side, under your immediate superintendence, you distrust, you suppress! Last Sunday it was proposed in the *Jacobinière* to get up a massacre in Paris; the same deliberation is this evening resumed at the *Evêché*; proofs of this are furnished, are tendered to you, and you reject them! You protect the men of blood!" Murmurs arose at these words, and drowned the

* "The motion was put, that the Commission of Twelve should be abolished, and Hebert set at liberty; it was carried at midnight amid shouts of triumph from the mob, who constituted the majority, by climbing over the rails, and voting on the benches of the Mountain with the Jacobins."—*Lacretelle*.

voice of Lanjuinais. "We can deliberate no longer," exclaimed Chambon; "all that we can do is to retire to our departments." "Your doors are beset," resumed Lanjuinais. "It is false," cried the left. "Yesterday," rejoined Lanjuinais, with all his might, "you were not free; you were controlled by the preachers of murder." Legendre, raising his voice, from his seat, said, "They want to make us waste the sitting; I declare that if Lanjuinais continues his lies, I will go and throw him out of the tribune." At this scandalous threat the Assembly was indignant, and the tribunes applauded. Guadet immediately moved that the words of Legendre should be inserted in the minutes (*procès-verbal*) and published to all France, that it might know how its deputies were treated. Lanjuinais, in continuation, maintained that the decree of the preceding evening had not been passed, for the petitioners had voted with the deputies; or that, if it had been passed, it ought to be repealed, because the Assembly was not free. "When you are free," added Lanjuinais, "you do not vote the impunity of crime." On the left it was affirmed that Lanjuinais was misrepresenting facts, that the petitioners had not voted, but had withdrawn to the passages. The contrary was asserted on the right; and without settling this point, the Assembly proceeded to vote upon the repeal of the decree. By a majority of fifty-one votes the decree was repealed. "You have performed," said Danton, "a striking act of justice, and I hope that it will be brought forward again before the end of the sitting; but if the commission which you have just reinstated retains its tyrannical powers, if the magistrates of the people are not restored to liberty and to their functions, I declare to you that, after proving that we surpass our enemies in prudence and discretion, *we will prove that we surpass them in daring and in revolutionary energy.*"* The provisional release of the prisoners was then put to the vote and pronounced unanimously. Rabaut St. Etienne desired permission to speak in the name of the Commission of Twelve; he claimed attention in the name of the public welfare, but could not obtain a hearing; at length he signified his resignation.

The decree was thus repealed, and the majority, reverting to the right side, seemed to prove that it was only in moments of weakness that decrees could be carried by the left. Though

* "Danton was afraid to resume the combat, for he dreaded the triumph of the Mountaineers as much as that of the Girondins; accordingly he wished by turns to prevent the 31st of May, and to moderate its results: but he found himself reduced to join his own party during the combat, and to be silent after the victory."—*Mignet*.

the magistrates whose release had been demanded were set at liberty, though Hebert had been restored to the commune, where he was presented with crowns, still the repeal of the decree had rekindled all the passions, and the storm, which seemed to be dispelled for a moment, threatened to burst with aggravated fury.

On the same day the assembly which had been held at the *mairie*, but ceased to meet there after the mayor put a stop to the propositions of *public safety*, as they were called, was renewed at the Evêché, in the electoral club, to which a few electors occasionally resorted. It was composed of commissioners of sections, chosen from among the committees of surveillance, commissioners of the commune, of the department, and of various clubs. The very women had representatives there, and among five hundred persons there were a hundred women, at the head of whom was one notorious for her fanatic extravagances and her popular eloquence.* On the first day, this meeting was attended by the envoys of thirty-six sections only; there were twelve which had not sent commissioners, and a new convocation was addressed to them. The Assembly then proceeded to the appointment of a committee of six members, for the purpose of devising and reporting next day the means of public welfare. After this preliminary measure the meeting broke up, and adjourned to the following day, the 29th.

The same evening great tumult prevailed in the sections. Notwithstanding the decree of the Convention which required them to close at ten o'clock, they continued to sit much later, constituting themselves at that hour *patriotic societies*, and by this new title prolonging their meeting till the night was considerably advanced. In some they prepared fresh addresses against the Commission of Twelve; in others they drew up petitions to the Assembly, demanding an explanation of those words of Isnard: *Paris will be erased from the list of cities*.

At the commune, Chaumette made a long speech on the evident conspiracy that was hatching against liberty, on the ministers, on the right side, &c. Hebert arrived, gave an account of his detention, received a crown, which he placed upon the bust of J. J. Rousseau, and then returned to the section, accompanied by the commissioners of the commune, who brought back in triumph the magistrate released from confinement.

Next day, the 29th, the Convention was afflicted by disastrous intelligence from the two most important military points, the North and La Vendée. The army of the North

* See Appendix MMMM.

had been repulsed between Bouchain and Cambrai; all communication between Valenciennes and Cambrai was cut off. At Fontenay the republican troops had been completely defeated by M. de Lescure, who had taken Fontenay itself.* These tidings produced general consternation, and rendered the situation of the moderate party still more dangerous. The sections came in succession with banners, inscribed with the words, *Resistance to Oppression*. Some demanded, as they had announced on the preceding evening, an explanation of the expression used by Isnard; some declared that there was no other inviolability than that of the people; that consequently the deputies who had sought to arm the departments against Paris ought to be placed under accusation; that the Commission of Twelve ought to be suppressed; that a revolutionary army ought to be organized, &c.

At the Jacobins the sitting was not less significant. On all sides it was said that the moment had arrived, that it was high time to save the people; and whenever a member came forward to detail the means to be employed, he was referred to the Commission of Six, appointed at the central club. "That commission," he was told, "is directed to provide for everything, and to devise the means of public welfare." Legendre, who would have expatiated on the dangers of the moment, and the necessity of trying all legal means before recourse was had to violent measures, was called a sleepy fellow. Robespierre, without speaking out, said that the commune ought to *unite heartily with the people*; that for his part he was incapable of prescribing the means of welfare; that this was given only to a single individual, but it was not given to him, exhausted by four years of revolution, and consumed by a slow and deadly fever.†

These words of the tribune produced a powerful effect, and drew forth vehement applause. They clearly indicated that he was waiting, like everybody else, to see what would be done by the municipal authorities at the Evêché. The assembly at the Evêché had met, and, as on the preceding night, it contained a considerable number of women. Its first business was to make proprietors easy by swearing to respect property. "Property," some one exclaimed, "was respected on the 10th of August, and on the 14th of July," and an oath was immediately taken to respect it on the 31st of May 1793. Dufourny, a member of the Commission of Six, then said that, without a commandant-general of the Parisian guard, it was impossible

* See Appendix NNNN.

† See Appendix OOOO.

to answer for any result, and that the commune ought to be desired to appoint one immediately. A woman, the celebrated Lacombe, then spoke; she seconded Dufourny's proposition, and declared that, without prompt and vigorous measures, it would be impossible to save themselves. Commissioners were immediately despatched to the commune, which replied in Pache's manner, that the mode for the appointment of a commandant-general was fixed by the decrees of the Convention, and that as this mode forbade it to appoint that officer itself, all that it could do was to form wishes on the subject. This was in fact advising the club to class this measure among the extraordinary measures of public welfare, which it was to take upon itself. The assembly then deliberated upon inviting all the cantons of the department to join it, and sent deputies to Versailles. A blind confidence was demanded in the name of the six, and a promise was required to execute without examination whatever they should propose. Silence was enjoined on every point connected with the great question of *means*; and the meeting adjourned till nine the next morning, then to commence a permanent sitting, which was to be decisive.

The Commission of Twelve was apprized of everything on the very same evening, and so was the committee of public safety, and it learned, moreover, from a placard printed during the day, that secret meetings were held at Charenton, and attended by Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. The committee of public welfare, taking advantage of a moment when Danton was absent from it, ordered the minister of the interior to cause the strictest search to be made for the purpose of discovering this clandestine meeting. Nothing was discovered, and there is every reason to believe that the rumour circulated concerning it was false. It appears to have been in the assembly of the commune that everything was done. Robespierre earnestly wished for a revolution that should be directed against his antagonists, the Girondins; but he had no need to compromise himself in order to produce it; all that he had to do was not to oppose it, as he had done several times during the month of May.

Accordingly his speech delivered during the day at the Jacobins, in which he said that the commune ought to unite with the people, and devise the means which it was not in his power to discover, was a real consent given to the insurrection. That was quite sufficient; and there was ardour enough in the central club to render his interference unnecessary. As for Marat, he assisted it by his paper, and by the scenes got up by him every day in the Convention; but he was not a member of the Commission of Six, really and truly charged with the

business of insurrection. The only man who can be considered as the secret author of that movement is Danton; but he had opposed it; he desired the suppression of the Commission of Twelve, but still he had no wish that the national representation should be yet meddled with. Meilhan, meeting him one day at the committee of public welfare, accosted and conversed amicably with him, remarked what a difference the Girondins made between him and Robespierre, and how highly they appreciated his great resources, adding that he might play a high part if he would employ his power in behalf of good, and for the support of honest men. Danton, touched by these words, abruptly raised his head, and said to Meilhan, "Your Girondins have no confidence in me." Meilhan would have proceeded in the same strain. "They have no confidence," repeated Danton, and retired without wishing to prolong the conversation.

These words delineate most correctly the disposition of the man. He despised the municipal populace, he had no liking either for Robespierre or for Marat, and he would much rather have put himself at the head of the Girondins, but they had no confidence in him. Different conduct and principles separated them entirely. Danton, moreover, found neither in their character nor in their opinion the energy requisite for saving the Revolution, the grand object which he cherished above all things. Danton, indifferent to persons, sought only to discover which of the two parties was likely to ensure to the Revolution the most certain and the most rapid progress. Master of the Cordeliers and of the Commission of Six, it is to be presumed that he had a great hand in the movement which was preparing; and it appears that he meant first to overthrow the Commission of Twelve, and then to consider what was to be done in regard to the Girondins.

At length the plan of insurrection was decided in the heads of the conspirators of the Central Revolutionary Club. They meant not, according to their own expression, to excite a *physical* but only a *purely moral* insurrection, to respect persons and property—in short, to violate, so to speak, in the most orderly manner, the laws and the liberty of the Convention. Their intention was to declare the commune in a state of insurrection, to call out in its name all the armed force which it had a right to require, to surround the Convention with it, and to present to that Assembly an address, which should be apparently only a petition, but really and truly an order. They meant, in short, to petition sword in hand.

Accordingly, on Thursday, the 30th, the commissioners of the

sections met at the Evêché, and formed what they called the *republican union*. Invested with the full powers of all the sections, they declared themselves in insurrection to save the commonwealth, threatened by the aristocratic faction, the faction oppressive of liberty. The mayor, persisting in his usual circumspection, made some remonstrances on the nature of that measure, which he mildly opposed, and finished by obeying the insurgents, who ordered him to go to the commune and acquaint it with what they had just resolved upon. It was then determined that the forty-eight sections should be called together to give their votes that very day upon the insurrection, and that immediately afterwards the tocsin should be rung, the barriers closed, and the *générale* beaten in all the streets. The sections accordingly met, and the whole day was spent in tumultuously collecting the votes for insurrection. The committee of public welfare, and the Commission of Twelve, sent for the authorities to obtain information. The mayor, with at least apparent regret, communicated the plan resolved upon at the Evêché. L'Huillier, *procureur syndic* of the department, confessed openly, and with a calm assurance, the plan of a *purely moral* insurrection, and went back quietly to his colleagues.

Thus ended the day, and at nightfall the tocsin rang, the *générale* was beaten in all the streets, the barriers were closed, and the astonished citizens asked one another if fresh massacres were about to drench the capital in blood. All the deputies of the Gironde and the threatened ministers passed the night out of their own homes.* Roland concealed himself at a friend's house; Buzot, Louvet, Barbaroux, Guadet, Bergoing, and Rabaut St. Etienne entrenched themselves in a sequestered apartment, provided with good weapons, and ready, in case of attack, to defend themselves to the last drop of their blood. At five in the morning they left their retreat and proceeded to the Convention, where, under favour of the returning daylight, a few members, summoned by the tocsin, had already assembled. Their arms, which were apparent, procured them an unmolested passage through several groups, and they reached the Convention, where there were already some Mountaineers met, and where Danton was conversing with Garat. "See," said Louvet to Guadet. "what a horrible hope

* "The Girondins at this period felt without doubt, at the bottom of their hearts, a keen remorse for the means which they had employed to overturn the throne; and when those very means were directed against themselves; when they recognized their own weapons in the wounds which they received, they must have reflected, without doubt, on that rapid justice of revolutions, which concentrates in a few instants the events of several ages."—*Madame de Staël*.

beams from those faces!" "Yes," replied Guadet, "it is to-day that Clodius banishes Cicero." Garat, on his part, surprised to see Danton so early at the Assembly, was attentively watching him. "What is the reason of all this noise, and what do they want?" said Garat. "It is nothing," coolly replied Danton. "They must be allowed to break in pieces a few presses, and be dismissed with that satisfaction." Twenty-eight deputies were present. Fermont took the arm-chair for the moment; Guadet courageously acted as secretary. The number of the deputies increased, and they awaited the moment for opening the sitting.

At this instant the insurrection was consummated at the commune. The envoys of the Central Revolutionary Committee, with Dobsen, the president, at their head, repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, furnished with revolutionary full powers. Dobsen, addressing the general council, declared that the people of Paris, injured in their rights, had just annulled all the constituted authorities. The vice-president of the council begged to see the full powers of the committee. He examined them, and finding the wish of thirty-three sections of Paris expressed therein, he declared that the majority of the sections annulled the constituted authorities. In consequence, the general council of the bureau retired. Dobsen and the commissioners took possession of the vacant place, amidst shouts of *Vive la République!* He then consulted the new assembly, and proposed to it to reinstate the municipality and the general council in their functions, since neither of them had ever failed in their duties to the people. Accordingly the old municipality and the old general council were forthwith reinstated, amidst the most vehement applause. The object of these apparent formalities was only to renew the municipal powers, and to render them unlimited and adequate to the insurrection. Immediately afterwards a new provisional commandant-general was appointed; this was one Henriot, a vulgar man, devoted to the commune, and commandant of the battalion of the *sans-culottes*. In order to ensure the aid of the people, and to keep them under arms in these moments of agitation, it was next resolved that forty sous per day should be paid to all the citizens on duty who were in narrow circumstances, and that these forty sous should be taken from the produce of the forced loan extorted from the rich. This was a sure way of calling out to the aid of the commune, and against the *bourgeoisie* of the sections, all the working-people, who would rather earn forty sous by assisting in revolutionary movements than thirty by pursuing their usual occupations.

During these proceedings at the commune the citizens of the capital assembled at the sound of the tocsin, and repaired in arms to the colours placed at the door of each captain of a section. A great number knew not what to think of these movements; many even asked why they were called out, being still ignorant of the measures taken overnight in the sections and at the commune. In this predicament they were incapable of acting and resisting what might be done contrary to their opinion, and they were obliged, even though disapproving of the insurrection, to second it with their presence. More than eighty thousand armed men were traversing Paris with the utmost tranquillity, and quietly allowing themselves to be led by the daring authority which had assumed the command. The sections of the Butte-des-Moulins, the Mail, and the Champs Elysées, which had long been decidedly hostile to the commune and the Mountain, were alone ready to resist, because the danger which they shared with the Girondins gave them rather more courage. They had met in arms, and awaited what was to follow, in the attitude of men who conceived themselves to be threatened, and were prepared to defend their lives. The Jacobins and the *sans-culottes*, alarmed at these dispositions, and exaggerating them in their own minds, hastened to the Faubourg St. Antoine, saying that these revolted sections were going to hoist the white flag and the white cockade, and that it was necessary to repair with all possible expedition to the centre of Paris, in order to prevent an explosion of the royalists. To produce a more general movement, it was resolved that the alarm-gun should be fired. This gun was placed on the Pont Neuf, and the penalty of death was incurred by any one who should fire it without a decree of the Convention. Henriot gave orders that the gun should be fired; but the commanding officer of the post resisted this order, and demanded a decree. The emissaries of Henriot returned in force, overcame the resistance of the post, and at that moment the pealing of the alarm-gun mingled with the sounds of the tocsin and of the *générale*.

The Convention, meeting early in the morning, as we have seen, had immediately sent to all the authorities to ascertain what was the state of Paris. Garat, who was in the hall, and engaged in watching Danton, first ascended the tribune, and stated what everybody knew, that a meeting had been held at the Evêché, that it demanded reparation for the insults offered to Paris, and the abolition of the Commission of Twelve. Scarcely had Garat finished speaking when new commissioners, calling themselves the administration of the department of the

Seine, appeared at the bar, and declared that nothing further was intended than a *purely moral* insurrection, having for its object the reparation of the outrages offered to the city of Paris. They added that the strictest order was observed; that every citizen had sworn to respect persons and property; that the armed sections were quietly traversing the city; and that all the authorities would come in a body in the course of the day to make known to the Convention their profession of faith and their demands.

Mallarmé, the president, immediately afterwards read a note from the commandant of the post at the Pont Neuf, relative to the contest which had taken place on account of the alarm-gun. Dufriche-Valazé instantly demanded that search should be made after the authors of this movement, and the criminals who had sounded the tocsin, and that the commandant-general, who had had the audacity to order the alarm-gun to be fired without a decree of the Convention, should be arrested. At this demand the tribunes and the left side raised such cries as might naturally be expected. Valazé was not daunted; he declared that nothing should ever make him renounce his character, that he was the representative of twenty-five millions of men, and that he would do his duty to the last; he concluded with moving that the so grossly calumniated Commission of Twelve should be immediately heard, and that its report should be read, for what was at that moment occurring afforded a proof of the plots which it had never ceased to denounce. Thuriot* attempted to answer Valazé. The struggle commenced, and tumult ensued. Mathieu and Cambon endeavoured to act as mediators; they claimed the silence of the tribunes and the moderation of the members of the right; and they represented that a combat at that moment in the capital would prove fatal to the cause of the Revolution; that calmness was the only means of keeping up the dignity of the Convention, and that dignity was the only means that it possessed for commanding the respect of the evil-disposed. Vergniaud, inclined, like Mathieu and Cambon, to employ conciliatory means, said that he, too, considered the conflict about to commence as fatal to liberty and to the Revolution; he therefore confined himself to a mild censure of Thuriot for having aggravated the danger of the Commission of Twelve by describing it as the scourge of France at a moment when all the popular movements were directed against it. He was of opinion that it ought to be dissolved if it had committed

* See Appendix PPPP.

arbitrary acts, but that it should be heard first ; and as its report must necessarily excite the passions, he moved that the reading of that report and the discussion upon it should be postponed till a calmer day. This he conceived to be the only means of maintaining the dignity of the Assembly, and of proving its liberty. For the moment it was of consequence to ascertain who had ordered the tocsin to be rung and the alarm-gun to be fired in Paris ; it was therefore indispensably necessary that the provisional commandant-general should be summoned to the bar. “ I repeat to you,” exclaimed Vergniaud, as he concluded, “ that whatever be the issue of the conflict which may this day take place, it would lead to the loss of liberty. Let us swear, then, to adhere firmly to our duty, and to die at our posts, rather than desert the public cause.” The members immediately rose with acclamations, and took the oath proposed by Vergniaud. A discussion then ensued on the suggestion for summoning the commandant-general to the bar. Danton, on whom all eyes were fixed at the moment, and whom Girondins and Mountaineers seemed to ask if he were the author of the movements of the day, appeared at the tribune, and immediately obtained profound attention. “ The very first thing that requires to be done,” said he, “ is to suppress the Commission of Twelve. This is of much greater importance than to summon the commandant-general to the bar. It is to men endowed with some political talents that I address myself. Summoning Henriot will make no change in the state of things, for it is not with the instrument, but with the cause of the disturbances, that we ought to grapple. Now the cause is this Commission of Twelve. I pretend not to judge its conduct and its acts ; it is not as having ordered arbitrary arrests that I attack it, but as being impolitic that I exhort you to suppress it.” “ Impolitic ! ” exclaimed a voice on the right side, “ we do not comprehend that ! ” “ You do not comprehend it ! ” resumed Danton, “ then I must explain it to you. This commission was instituted solely to repress the popular energy ; it was conceived entirely in that spirit of *moderatism* which will be the ruin of the Revolution and of France. It has made a point of persecuting energetic magistrates whose only crime consisted in awakening the ardour of the people. I shall not now inquire if in its persecutions it has been actuated by personal resentments ; but it has shown dispositions which this day we ought to condemn. You have yourselves, on the report of your minister of the interior, whose character is so bland, whose mind is so impartial and so enlightened—you have yourselves released the men whom the Commission of

Twelve had imprisoned. What would you do then with the commission itself, since you are annulling its acts? . . . The gun has pealed, the people have risen; but the people must be thanked for their energy in behalf of the very cause which we are defending; and if you are *politic legislators*, you will congratulate yourselves on their ardour, you will reform your own errors, and you will abolish your commission. I address myself," repeated Danton, "to those men only who have some notion of our situation, and not to those stupid creatures who in these great movements can listen to nothing but their passions. Hesitate not, then, to satisfy the people!" "What people?" asked a member on the right. "That people," replied Danton, "that immense people which is our advanced sentry, which bears a bitter hatred to tyranny and to that base *moderatism* which would bring it back. Hasten to satisfy it; save it from the aristocrats, save it from its own fury; and if, when it shall be satisfied, perverse men, no matter to what party they belong, shall strive to prolong a movement that is become useless, Paris itself will reduce them to their original nothingness."

Rabaut St. Etienne attempted to justify the Commission of Twelve on political grounds, and to prove that nothing was more politic than to institute a commission to discover the plots of Pitt and Austria, whose money excited all the disturbances in France. "Down!" cried one; "silence Rabaut!" "No," exclaimed Bazire; "let him go on. He is a liar; I will prove that his commission has organized civil war in Paris." Rabaut would have continued. Marat asked permission to introduce a deputation of the commune. "Let me finish first," said Rabaut. Cries of "The commune! the commune! the commune!" proceeded from the tribunes and the Mountain. "I will declare," resumed Rabaut, "that when I would have told you the truth, you interrupted me." "Well, then, finish," said one. Rabaut concluded with proposing that the commission should be suppressed if they pleased, but that the committee of public welfare should be immediately directed to prosecute all the investigations which it had commenced.

The deputation of the insurrectional commune was introduced, and thus expressed itself. "A great plot has been formed, but it is discovered. The people who rose on the 14th of July and on the 10th of August to overthrow tyranny is again rising to stop the counter-revolution. The general council sends us to communicate the measures which it has taken. The first is to place property under the safeguard of the republicans; the second, to give forty sous per day to the

republicans who shall remain in arms; the third to form a commission for corresponding with the Convention in this moment of agitation. The general council begs you to assign to this commission a room near your hall, where it may meet and communicate with you."

Scarcely had the deputation ceased speaking when Guadet presented himself to reply to its demands. Among all the Girondins he was not the man whose appearance was most likely to soothe the passions. "The commune," said he, "in pretending that it has discovered a plot, has made a mistake of a single word: it should have said that it has *executed* it." Cries from the tribunes interrupted him. Vergniaud insisted that they should be cleared. A tremendous uproar ensued, and for a long time nothing was to be heard but confused shouts. To no purpose Mallarmé, the president, repeatedly declared that if respect were not paid to the Convention he must use the authority which the law had conferred on him. Guadet still occupied the tribune, and with difficulty contrived to make himself heard, by delivering now one sentence and then another, during the intervals of this violent commotion. At length he proposed that the Convention should suspend its deliberations until its liberty was assured; and that the Commission of Twelve should be directed to prosecute forthwith those who had rung the tocsin and fired the alarm-gun. Such a proposition was not likely to appease the tumult. Vergniaud would have again mounted the tribune, to endeavour to restore some degree of tranquillity, when a fresh deputation of the municipality came to repeat the demands already made. The Convention, urged afresh, could no longer resist, and decreed that the working-men whose services were required for the security of public order and property should be paid forty sous per day, and that a room should be assigned to the commissioners of the authorities of Paris, for the purpose of concerting with the committee of public safety.

After this decree was passed, Conthon * replied to Guadet, and the day, already far advanced, was spent in discussions without result. The whole population of Paris under arms continued to traverse the city in the most orderly manner, and in the same state of uncertainty. The commune was busy in drawing up new addresses relative to the Commission of Twelve, and the Assembly still continued to be agitated for or against that commission. Vergniaud, who had left the hall for a short time, and had witnessed the singular spectacle of a whole

* See Appendix QQQQ.

population not knowing what party to espouse, and blindly obeying the first authority that chose to make a tool of it, thought that it would be right to profit by these dispositions, and he made a motion which had for its object to distinguish the agitators from the people of Paris, and to win the attachment of the latter by a token of confidence. "Far be it from me," said he to the Assembly, "to accuse either the majority or the minority of the inhabitants of Paris. This day will serve to show how dearly Paris loves liberty. It is sufficient to walk through the streets, to see the order that prevails there, the numerous patrols passing to and fro; it is sufficient to witness this beautiful sight to induce you to decree that Paris has deserved well of the country!" At these words the whole Assembly rose, and voted by acclamation that Paris had deserved well of the country. The Mountain and the tribunes applauded, surprised that such a motion should have proceeded from the lips of Vergniaud. It was certainly a very shrewd motion; but it was not a flattering testimony that could awaken the zeal of the sections, rally those which disapproved of the conduct of the commune, and give them the courage and unity necessary for resisting insurrection.

At this moment the section of the Faubourg St. Antoine, excited by the emissaries who had come to inform it that the Butte-des-Moulins had hoisted the white cockade, descended towards the interior of Paris with its cannon, and halted a few paces from the Palais-Royal, where the section of the Butte-des-Moulins was entrenched. The latter was drawn up in order of battle in the garden, had locked all the gates, and was ready with its artillery to sustain a siege if it were attacked. Outside people still continued to circulate a report that it had hoisted the white cockade and flag, and excited the section of the Faubourg St. Antoine to attack it. Some officers of the latter, however, represented that, before proceeding to extremities, it would be well to satisfy themselves of the truth of the alleged facts, and to endeavour to adjust matters. They went up to the gate and asked to speak to the officers of the Butte-des-Moulins. They were admitted, and found nothing but the national colours. An explanation ensued, and they embraced one another. The officers returned to their battalions, and presently afterwards the two sections, intermingled, were passing together through the streets of Paris.

Thus the submission became more and more general, and the new commune was left to follow up its altercations with the Convention. At this moment Barrère, ever ready to suggest middle courses, proposed, in the name of the committee of

public welfare, to abolish the Commission of Twelve, but at the same time to place the armed force at the disposal of the Convention. While he was detailing his plan a third deputation came to express its final intentions to the Assembly, in the name of the department, of the commune, and of the commissioners of the sections, who were then holding an extraordinary meeting at the Evêché.

L'Huillier, *procureur syndic* of the department, was the spokesman. "Legislators!" said he, "the city and the department of Paris have long been calumniated in the eyes of the world. The same men who wanted to ruin Paris in the public opinion are the instigators of the massacres in La Vendée; it is they who flatter and keep up the hopes of our enemies; it is they who revile the constituted authorities, who strive to mislead the people, that they may have a right to complain of them; it is they who denounce to you imaginary plots, that they may create real ones; it is they who have demanded the Committee of Twelve, in order to oppress the liberty of the people; finally, it is they who, by a criminal ferment, by contrived addresses, by their correspondence, keep up dissensions and animosities in your bosom, and deprive the country of the most important of benefits—of a good constitution—which it has bought by so many sacrifices."

After this vehement apostrophe, L'Huillier denounced plans of federalism, declared that the city of Paris would perish for the maintenance of the republican unity, and called for justice upon the well-known words of Isnard, *Paris will be erased from the list of cities*.

"Legislators!" he exclaimed, "is it possible that an idea of destroying Paris can have been conceived? Would you sweep away this sacred seat of the arts and of human knowledge?" After these affected lamentations he demanded vengeance against Isnard, against the twelve, and against *many other culprits*, such as Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Buzot, Barbaroux, Roland, Lebrun, Clavières, &c.

The right side continued silent. The left side and the tribunes applauded. Gregoire, the president, in reply to L'Huillier, pronounced an emphatic panegyric on Paris, and invited the deputation to the honours of the sitting. The petitioners who composed it were mingled with a crowd of the populace. Too numerous to find room at the bar, they seated themselves beside the Mountain, which received them cordially, and opened its ranks to admit them. An unknown multitude then poured into the hall and mingled with the Assembly. The tribunes rang with applause at this spectacle of fraternity

between the representatives and the rabble. Osselin immediately moved that the petition should be printed, and that they should deliberate upon its contents drawn up *en projet* by Barrère. "President," exclaimed Vergniaud, "consult the Assembly as to whether it chooses to deliberate in its present state." "Vote on Barrère's *projet*!" was the cry on the left. "We protest against all deliberation," cried the right. "The Convention is not free," said Doulcet. "Well," said Levasseur, "let the members of the left side move to the right, and then the Convention will be distinct from the petitioners, and will be able to deliberate." At this suggestion the Mountain readily moved to the right side. For a moment the two sides were intermingled, and the benches of the Mountain were entirely relinquished to the petitioners. The printing of the address was put to the vote and decreed. The cry of "Vote on Barrère's *projet*!" was then repeated. "We are not free," replied several members of the Assembly. "I move," said Vergniaud, "that the Convention go and join the armed force which surrounds it, to seek protection from the violence that it is suffering." As he finished these words, he retired, followed by a great number of his colleagues. The Mountain and the tribunes ironically applauded the departure of the right side; the Plain was alarmed and undecided. "I move," said Chabot immediately, "that the names be called over, to mark the absentees who desert their post." At this moment Vergniaud and those who had followed him returned, with looks of the deepest mortification and dejection; for this proceeding, which might have been grand had it been seconded, became petty and ridiculous, because it was not. Vergniaud wished to speak; but Robespierre would not give up the tribune, which he occupied. He kept possession of it, and claimed prompt and energetic measures, in order to satisfy the people; he insisted that the suppression of the Commission of Twelve should be accompanied with severe measures against its members; he then expatiated at considerable length on the wording of Barrère's *projet*, and opposed the clause which assigned the disposal of the armed force to the Convention. "Conclude, then," said Vergniaud impatiently. "Yes," replied Robespierre, "I am going to conclude, and against you—against you, who, after the Revolution of the 10th of August, were for bringing to the scaffold those who effected it!—against you, who have never ceased to provoke the destruction of Paris!—against you, who wanted to save the tyrant!—against you, who conspired with Dumouriez! . . . My conclusion is the decree of accusation against all the

accomplices of Dumouriez, and against those designated by the petitioners."

After long and loud applause a decree was drawn up, put to the vote, and adopted, amidst a tumult which rendered it almost impossible to ascertain whether it had obtained a sufficient number of votes. Its purport was as follows: the Commission of Twelve is suppressed; its papers shall be seized, and a report made upon them in three days; the armed force is in permanent requisition; the constituted authorities shall give an account to the Convention of the means taken to ensure the public tranquillity; proceedings shall be instituted against plots denounced; and a proclamation shall be issued to give France a just idea of this day, which the evil-disposed will undoubtedly strive to misrepresent.

It was ten at night, and the Jacobins and the commune complained that the day was gone without producing any result. The passing of this decree, though it yet decided nothing relative to the persons of the Girondins, was a first success which caused great rejoicing, and at which the oppressed Convention was obliged to rejoice too.* The commune immediately caused the whole city to be illuminated; a civic procession with flambeaux was formed; the sections marched intermingled, that of the Faubourg St. Antoine with those of the Butte-des-Moulins and the Mail. Deputies of the Mountain and the president were obliged to attend this procession, and the conquerors forced the vanquished themselves to celebrate their victory.

The character of the day was sufficiently evident. The insurgents had wished to do everything according to established forms. They meant not to dissolve the Convention, but to obtain from it what they required, by keeping up the appearance of respect for it. The feeble members of the Plain willingly gave way to this delusion, which tended to persuade them that they were still free even while obeying. The Commission of Twelve had been actually abolished, and the investigation of its conduct had been deferred for three days, in order to avoid the appearance of yielding. The disposal of the armed force had not been assigned to the Convention; but it had been decided that an account of the dispositions made should be rendered to it, in order that it might still seem to retain the air of sovereignty. Lastly, a proclamation was

* "The conspirators were not satisfied with this half triumph. The insurrection became, instead of a moral one, as they styled it, personal—that is to say, it was no longer directed against a power, but against deputies; it escaped Danton and the Mountain, and it fell to Robespierre, Marat, and the commune."—*Mignet*.

ordered for the purpose of repeating officially that the Convention was not afraid, and that it was perfectly free.

On the following day Barrère was directed to draw up the proclamation, and he travestied the occurrences of the 31st of May with that rare skill which always caused his assistance to be sought, in order to furnish the weak with an honourable pretext for yielding to the strong. Too rigorous measures had, he said, excited discontent; the people had risen with energy, but with calmness; they had appeared all day under arms, had proclaimed respect for property, had respected the liberty of the Convention and the life of each of its members, and they had demanded justice, which had been cheerfully rendered them. It was thus that Barrère expressed himself concerning the abolition of the Commission of Twelve, of which he was himself the author.

On the 1st of June tranquillity was far from being restored; the meeting at the Evêché continued; the department and the commune, still extraordinarily convoked, were sitting; the tumult had not ceased in the sections, and in all quarters people said that they had obtained only half what they wanted, since the twenty-two deputies still retained their seats in the Convention. Paris was in commotion, and it was expected that further important events would mark the morrow, Sunday, the 2nd of June.

The power *de facto* was in the insurrectionary assembly of the Evêché, and *de jure* in the committee of public welfare, invested with all the extraordinary powers of the Convention. A room had been assigned, on the 31st, where the constituted authorities might meet for the purpose of corresponding with the committee of public welfare. In the course of the day of the 1st of June the committee of public welfare repeatedly summoned the members of the insurrectionary assembly to inquire what more the revolted commune wanted. What it wanted was but too evident, and that was either the expulsion or the arrest of the deputies who had so courageously resisted it. All the members of the committee of public welfare were deeply affected at this design. Delmas, Treilhard, Breard, were sincerely grieved. Cambon, a staunch partisan, as he always declared, of the *revolutionary power*, but strongly attached to legality, was indignant at the audacity of the commune, and said to Bouchotte, the successor of Beurnonville, and who, like Pache, was very complacent to the Jacobins, "Minister at war, we are not blind; I see clearly that clerks in your office are among the leaders and instigators of all this." Barrère, notwithstanding his accustomed delicacy,

began to be indignant, and to say so. "We must see," he observed on that melancholy day, "whether it is the commune of Paris that represents the French republic, or whether it is the Convention." Lacroix, the Jacobin, Danton's friend and lieutenant, appeared embarrassed in the presence of his colleagues by the attack which was preparing upon the laws and the national representation. Danton, who had gone no further than to approve and earnestly desire the abolition of the Commission of Twelve, because he was adverse to everything that impeded the popular energy, would have wished the national representation to be respected; but he foresaw, on the part of the Girondins, fresh explosions and fresh resistance to the march of the Revolution, and he would have desired some medium of removing, without proscribing them. Garat offered it to him, and he gladly caught at it. All the ministers were present at the committee. Garat was there with his colleagues. Deeply afflicted at the situation in which the leaders of the Revolution stood in regard to one another, he conceived a generous idea, which ought to have had the effect of restoring harmony. "Recollect," said he, to the members of the committee, and to Danton in particular, "the quarrels of Themistocles and Aristides, the obstinacy of the one in refusing what was proposed by the other, and the dangers in which they involved their country. Recollect the generosity of Aristides, who, deeply impressed with the calamities which both of them brought upon their country, had the magnanimity to exclaim, 'O Athenians! ye will never be quiet and happy until ye have thrown Themistocles and me into the Barathrum.' Well," continued Garat, "let the leaders of both sides of the Assembly repeat the words of Aristides, and spontaneously exile themselves in equal number from the Assembly. From that day dissensions will cease; there will be left in the Assembly sufficient talents to save the commonwealth; and the country will bless in their magnificent ostracism the men who shall have extinguished themselves to give it peace."

All the members of the committee were moved with this generous idea. Delmas, Barrère, and the ardent Cambon were delighted with the project. Danton, who in this case would have been the first sacrifice, rose, and with tears in his eyes, said to Garat, "You are right; I will go to the Convention, submit to it this idea, and offer myself to be the first to go as an hostage to Bordeaux." They parted full of this noble project, in order to communicate it to the leaders of the two parties. They addressed themselves in particular to Robespierre, to whom such self-denial could not be palatable,

and who replied that this was but a snare laid for the Mountain, with a view to remove its most courageous defenders. Of course there was left but one part of this plan that could be carried into execution, namely, the voluntary exile of the Girondins, that of the Mountaineers being refused. It was Barrère who was deputed, in the name of the committee of public welfare, to propose to the one a sacrifice to which the others had not the generosity to submit. Barrère therefore drew up a paper proposing to the twenty-two, and to the members of the Commission of Twelve, the voluntary abdication of their functions.

At this moment the assembly at the Evêché was arranging the definitive plan of the second insurrection. Complaints were made there and at the Jacobins, that the energy of Danton had relaxed since the abolition of the Commission of Twelve. Marat proposed to go and require of the Convention a decree of accusation against the twenty-two, and he proposed to require it by force. A short and energetic petition was drawn up to this effect. The plan of the insurrection was settled, not in the Assembly, but in the committee of execution, charged with what were called the *means of public welfare*, and composed of the Varlets, the Dobsens, the Gusmans, and all those men who had been incessantly engaged in agitation ever since the 21st of January. This committee agreed to surround the Convention with the armed force, and to prevent its members from leaving the hall till it had passed the decree required of it. To this end the battalions destined for La Vendée, and which had been detained upon various pretexts in the barracks of Courbevoie, were to be recalled to Paris. The committee conceived that it could obtain from these battalions, and some others which it had besides, what it might perhaps not have obtained from the guard of the sections. By taking care to surround the National Palace with these devoted men, and keeping, as on the 31st of May, the rest of the armed force in docility and ignorance, it expected easily to put an end to the resistance of the Convention. Henriot was again directed to take the command of the troops about the National Palace.

Such was what the committee had promised itself for Sunday, the 2nd of June; but on the evening of Saturday it resolved to try the effect of fresh requisitions, to see whether it might not obtain something by a last step. Accordingly on that evening orders were given to beat the *général* and to sound the tocsin, and the committee of public welfare lost no time in calling upon the Convention to meet amidst this new tempest.

At this moment the Girondins, assembled for the last time, were dining together to consult what course to pursue. It was evident to their eyes that the present insurrection could not have for its object either the *breaking of presses*, as Danton had said, or the suppression of a commission, and that it was a final blow aimed at their persons. Some advised that they should remain firm at their post and die in the curule chair, defending to the last the character with which they were clothed. Petion, Buzot, and Gensonné inclined to this grave and magnanimous resolution. Barbaroux, without calculating the results, following only the inspirations of his heroic soul, was for going and braving his enemies by his presence and his courage. Lastly, others, and Louvet was the warmest in supporting this opinion, were for immediately abandoning the Convention, where they could render no further service, where the Plain had not courage enough to give their votes, and where the Mountain and the tribunes were determined to drown their voices by yells. They proposed to retire to their respective departments, to foment insurrection, which had all but broken out there, and to return in force to Paris to avenge the laws and the national representation. Each maintained his opinion, and they knew not which to adopt. The sound of the tocsin and the *générale* obliged the unfortunate party to leave the table, and to seek an asylum before they had come to any resolution. They first repaired to the abode of one of them, Meilhan, who was least compromised, and not included in the famous list of the twenty-two, who had before received them, and who had very spacious lodgings, where they could meet in arms. Thither they repaired in haste, excepting some who had other means of concealing themselves.

The Convention had assembled at the sound of the tocsin. Very few members were present, and all those of the right side were not there. Lanjuinais alone, resolved to brave every danger, had gone thither to denounce the plot, the revelation of which gave no new information to any one. After a very stormy but very brief sitting, the Convention answered the petitioners that, in consequence of the decree which enjoined the committee of public welfare to make a report to it on the twenty-two, it could take no further measure on the new demand of the commune. It broke up in disorder, and the conspirators deferred till the next morning the definitive execution of their design.

The *générale* and the tocsin kept pealing the whole night between Saturday and Sunday the 2nd of June 1793. The alarm-gun was fired, and at daybreak all the population of

Paris was in arms. Nearly eighty thousand men were drawn up around the Convention; but more than sixty-five thousand took no part in the event, and merely attended with muskets on their shoulders. Some trusty battalions of gunners were ranged, under the command of Henriot,* around the National Palace. They had one hundred and sixty-three pieces of cannon, caissons, furnaces for heating balls, lighted matches, and all the military apparatus capable of awing the imagination. It was contrived that the battalions whose departure for La Vendée had been delayed should enter Paris early in the morning; they had been irritated by being persuaded that there existed plots, that they had been discovered, that the leaders were in the Convention, and that they must be torn from its bosom. These battalions, thus tutored, had marched from the Champs Elysées to the Madeleine, from the Madeleine to the Boulevard, and from the Boulevard to the Carrousel, ready to execute whatever the conspirators should command.

Thus the Assembly, surrounded by no more than a few thousand enthusiasts, appeared to be besieged by eighty thousand men. Without being really besieged, however, it was not the less involved in all the dangers of a siege; for the few thousands immediately about it were ready to commit any act of violence against it.

The deputies of every side had repaired to the sitting. The Mountain, the Plain, the right side, occupied their benches. The proscribed deputies, most of whom were at Meilhan's, where they had passed the night, were desirous also of repairing to their post. Buzot struggled hard to get away from those who held him, that he might go and expire in the bosom of the Convention. Barbaroux alone, having succeeded in escaping, had gone to the Convention to display on that day great moral courage. The others were prevailed upon to remain together in their retreat, and there to await the issue of that terrible sitting.

The sitting commenced, and Lanjuinais, bent on making the utmost efforts to enforce respect for the national representation—Lanjuinais, whom neither the tribunes, nor the Mountain, nor the imminence of the danger could daunt, was the first to demand permission to speak. At this demand the most violent murmurs were raised. "I come," said he, "to submit to you the means of quelling the new commotions with which you are threatened!" There were shouts of "Down! down!"

* "Henriot, commander-general of the armed force of Paris, was a fierce, ignorant man, entirely devoted to the Jacobin interest."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

he wants to produce a civil war." "So long," resumed Lanjuinais, "as it is allowed to raise one's voice here, I will not let the character of representative of the people be degraded in my person! Thus far you have done nothing, you have suffered everything; you have sanctioned all that was required of you. An insurrectional assembly meets; it appoints a committee charged to prepare a revolt, a provisional commandant charged to head the revolt; and all this you suffer—this assembly, this committee, this commandant!" Tremendous cries every moment interrupted the speech of Lanjuinais; at length, so strong became the rage which he excited, that several deputies of the Mountain, Drouet,* Robespierre the younger, Julien,† and Legendre, ran to the tribune, and attempted to drag him from it. Lanjuinais resisted, and clung to it with tenacity. All parts of the Assembly were agitated, and the howls of the tribunes contributed to render this the most frightful scene that had yet been exhibited. The president put on his hat, and succeeded in gaining a hearing. "The scene which has just taken place," said he, "is most afflicting. Liberty will perish if you continue to behave thus. I call you to order, you who have made such an attack on that tribune!" Some degree of order was restored, and Lanjuinais, who was not afraid of chimerical propositions when they evinced courage, moved that the revolutionary authorities of Paris should be dissolved—or, in other words, that those who were disarmed should control those in arms. Scarcely had he concluded when the petitioners of the commune again made their appearance. Their language was more laconic and more resolute than ever. "The citizens of Paris have been under arms for these four days. For four days past they have been claiming of their representatives their rights, unworthily violated; and for four days past their representatives have been laughing at their calmness and their inaction. . . . It is necessary to put the conspirators in a state of provisional arrest: it is necessary to save the people forthwith, or the people will save themselves!" No sooner had the petitioners ceased speaking, than Billaud-Varennes and Tallien demanded a report on the petition before any other business was taken up. Others, in great number, called for the order of the day. At length the Assembly, roused by the danger, rose amidst tumult, and voted the order of the day, on the ground that the committee of public safety had been ordered to present a report in three days. On this decision the petitioners withdrew,

* See Appendix RRRR.

See Appendix SSSS.

shouting, making threatening gestures, and evidently carrying concealed arms. All the men who were in the tribunes retired, as if for the purpose of executing some plan, and the women alone were left. A great noise without was heard, together with repeated cries of "*To arms! to arms!*" At this moment several deputies represented to the Assembly that the determination which it had taken was imprudent, that an end ought to be put to a dangerous crisis by granting what was demanded, and ordering the provisional arrest of the twenty-two accused deputies. "We will all, all of us go to prison," exclaimed Lareveillère-Lepeaux.* Cambon then informed the Assembly that in half an hour the committee of public safety would make its report. The report had been ordered in three days; but the danger, becoming more and more pressing, had induced the committee to use despatch. Barrère accordingly appeared at the tribune, and proposed Garat's idea, which had the evening before moved all the members of the committee, which Danton had warmly embraced, which Robespierre had rejected, and which consisted in the voluntary and reciprocal exile of the leaders of the two parties. Barrère, as he could not propose it to the Mountaineers, proposed it to the twenty-two. "The committee," said he, "has not had time to investigate any fact, to hear any witness; but considering the political and moral state of the Convention, it conceives that the voluntary secession of the deputies in question would be productive of the happiest effect, and save the republic from a disastrous crisis, the issue of which it is frightful to anticipate."

No sooner had he finished speaking than Isnard mounted the tribune. He said that since an individual was to be put in the balance against the country, he should no longer hesitate, and that he was ready to give up, not only his functions, but his life, if necessary. Lanthenas followed the example of Isnard, and resigned his functions. Fauchet offered his resignation and his life to the republic. Lanjuinais, who was not convinced of the propriety of yielding, appeared at the tribune. "I conceive," said he, "that up to this moment I have shown resolution enough for you not to expect of me either suspension or resignation." At these words, cries burst from the Assembly. He cast a look of assurance at those who interrupted him. "The sacrificer of old," said he, "when he dragged a victim to the altar, covered it with flowers and chaplets, and did not insult it. The sacrifice of our powers is required; but the sacrifice ought to be free, and we are not

* See Appendix TTTT

free. We cannot leave this place either by the doors or the windows; the guns are pointed; we dare not utter our sentiments: I shall say no more." Barbaroux followed Lanjuinais, and with equal courage refused the resignation required of him. "If," said he, "the Convention enjoins my resignation, I will submit; but how can I resign my powers when a great number of the departments write to me and assure me that I have used them well, and exhort me to continue to use them? I have sworn to die at my post, and I will keep my oath." Dussaulx* offered his resignation. "What!" exclaimed Marat, "ought we to allow culprits the honour of devoting themselves. A man must be pure to offer sacrifices to his country; it is for me, a real martyr, to devote myself: I offer, then, my suspension from the moment that you shall have ordered the arrest of the accused deputies. "But," added Marat, "the list is faulty; instead of that old gossip Dussaulx, that weak-minded Lanthenas, and Ducos—guilty only of some erroneous opinions—Fermont and Valazé, who deserve to be there, but are not, ought to be placed in it."

At this moment a great noise was heard at the doors of the hall. Lacroix entered in violent agitation, loudly complaining that the Assembly was not free; that he attempted to leave the hall, but had been prevented. Though a Mountaineer and a partisan of the arrest of the twenty-two, Lacroix was indignant at the conduct of the commune, which had caused the deputies to be shut up in the National Palace.

After the refusal to take any proceedings upon the petition of the commune, the sentries at all the doors had been ordered not to suffer a single deputy to depart. Several had in vain attempted to slip away. Gorsas alone had contrived to escape, and hastened to warn the Girondins who had remained at Meilhan's to conceal themselves wherever they could, and not to go to the Assembly. Boissy d'Anglas,† having gone to one of the doors, was grossly ill-treated, and returned showing his clothes rent in pieces. At this sight the whole Assembly was filled with indignation, and even the Mountain was astonished. The authors of this order were sent for, and an illusory decree was passed summoning the commandant of the armed force to the bar.

Barrère then spoke, and expressed himself with a resolution that was not usual with him. He said that the Assembly was not free; that it was deliberating under the control of concealed tyrants; that in the insurrectional committee there

* See Appendix UUUU.

† See Appendix VVVV.

were men who could not be relied on, suspected foreigners such as Gusman, the Spaniard, and others; that at the door of the hall five-livre assignats were distributed among the battalions destined for La Vendée; and that it was right to ascertain whether the Convention was yet respected or not. In consequence he proposed that the whole Assembly should go in a body among the armed force, to satisfy itself that it had nothing to fear, and that its authority was still recognized. This proposal, already made by Garat on the 25th of May, and renewed by Vergniaud on the 31st, was immediately adopted. Hérault-Séchelles, to whom recourse was had on all difficult occasions, was put at the head of the Assembly as president, and the whole right side and the Plain rose to follow him. The Mountain alone kept its place. The last deputies of the right turned back and reproached it for declining to share the common danger. The tribunes, on the contrary, made signs to the Mountaineers not to leave their seats, as if some great danger threatened them outside the hall. The Mountaineers nevertheless yielded from a feeling of shame; and the whole Convention, with Hérault-Séchelles at its head, proceeded into the courts of the National Palace, and to the side towards the Carrousel. It arrived opposite to the gunners, at the head of whom was Henriot. The president addressed him, and desired him to open a passage for the Assembly. "You shall not leave this place," said Henriot, "till you have delivered up the twenty-two." "Seize this rebel!" said the president to the soldiers. Henriot backed his horse and turned to his gunners. "Gunners, to your pieces!" said he. Some one, immediately grasping Hérault-Séchelles firmly by the arm, drew him another way. The Assembly proceeded to the garden, to experience the same treatment. Some groups were shouting, "*The nation for ever!*" others, "*The Convention for ever!*" "*Marat for ever!*" "*Down with the right side!*" Outside the garden, battalions otherwise disposed than those which surrounded the Carrousel made signs to the deputies to come and join them. The Convention was advancing for the purpose to the Pont Tournant, but there it found another battalion, which prevented its egress from the garden. At this moment Marat, surrounded by a few boys crying "*Marat for ever!*" approached the president, and said to him, "I summon the deputies who have quitted their post to return to it."

The Assembly, whose repeated attempts only served to prolong its humiliation, accordingly returned to the hall of its sittings, and each resumed his place. Couthon then ascended

the tribune. "You see clearly," said he, with an assurance which confounded the Assembly, "that you are respected, obeyed by the people, and that you can vote on the question which is submitted to you. Lose no time, then, in complying with their wishes." Legendre proposed to exempt from the list of the twenty-two those who had offered their resignation; and from the list of the twelve, Boyer-Fonfrède* and St. Martin, who had opposed the arbitrary arrests, and to put in their stead Lebrun and Clavières. Marat insisted that Lanthenas, Ducos, and Dussaulx should be erased from the list, and Fermont and Valazé added to it. These suggestions were adopted, and the Assembly was ready to proceed to vote. The Plain, being intimidated, began to say that, after all, the deputies placed under arrest at their own homes were not so very much to be pitied, and that it was high time to put an end to this frightful scene. The right side demanded a call of the Assembly, to make the members of the *belly* ashamed of their weakness; but one of them pointed out to his colleagues an honest way of extricating themselves from this dilemma. He said that he should not vote, because he was not free. The others, following his example, refused to vote. The Mountain alone, and some other members, then voted that the deputies denounced by the commune should be put under arrest.

Such was the celebrated scene of the 2nd of June, better known by the name of the 31st of May. It was a real 10th of August against the national representation; for, the deputies once under arrest at their own homes, there was nothing more to do than to make them mount the scaffold, and that was no difficult task.

Here finishes one principal era of the Revolution, which served as a preparation to the most terrible and the most important of all; and of the whole of which it is necessary to take a general survey in order to form a due estimate of it.

On the 10th of August 1792, the Revolution, no longer able to repress its distrust, attacked the palace of the monarch to deliver itself from apprehensions which had become insupportable. The first movement was to suspend Louis XVI., and to defer his fate till the approaching meeting of the National Convention. The monarch being suspended, and the power remaining in the hands of the different popular authorities, the question then arose how this power was to

* "Boyer-Fonfrède was born at Bordeaux. Being appointed deputy from the Gironde to the Convention, he vigorously opposed Marat and the Mountain. He escaped the first proscription of the Girondins, but perished on the scaffold in 1793."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

be employed. The dissensions which had already begun to manifest themselves between the partisans of moderation and those of inexorable energy then broke forth without reserve. The commune, composed of all the energetic men, attacked the Legislature, and insulted it by threatening to sound the tocsin. At this moment the coalition, instigated by the 10th of August, hastened to advance. The increasing danger provoked a still greater degree of violence, caused moderation to be decried, and impelled the passions to their greatest excesses. Longwy and Verdun fell into the hands of the enemy. On the approach of Brunswick the advocates of energetic measures anticipated the cruelties which he had threatened in his manifestoes, and struck terror into his hidden partisans by the horrible days of September. Presently France, saved by the admirable coolness of Dumouriez, had time to agitate once more the grand question of a moderate or a merciless use of power. September became a grievous subject of reproach. The moderates were indignant; the violent wished them to be silent concerning evils which they declared to be inevitable and irreparable. Cruel personalities added individual animosities to animosities of opinion. Discord was excited to the highest degree. Then came the moment for deciding upon the fate of Louis XVI. An experiment of the two systems was made upon his person; that of moderation was vanquished, that of violence proved victorious; and in sacrificing the King, the Revolution broke definitively with royalty and with all thrones.

The coalition, instigated by the 21st of January 1793, as it had been by the 10th of August 1792, began to bestir itself again, and caused us to fall back on our reserves. Dumouriez, stopped in his progress by contrary circumstances and by the derangement of all the administrations, was exasperated against the Jacobins, to whom he attributed all his reverses; throwing off his political indifference, he suddenly declared himself in favour of moderation, compromised it by employing his sword and foreigners in its behalf, and was at length wrecked upon the Revolution, after placing the republic in the greatest danger. At this moment *La Vendée* rose. The departments, hitherto moderate, became threatening. Never had the Revolution been in greater danger. Reverses, treasons, furnished the Jacobins with a pretext for calumniating the moderate republicans, and a motive for demanding a judicial and executive dictatorship. They proposed the experiment of a revolutionary tribunal and of a committee of public safety. Warm disputes on this subject ensued. On these

questions the two parties proceeded to the utmost extremities; they could no longer exist together. On the 10th of March 1793 the Jacobins aimed a blow at the leaders of the Girondins; but their attempt, being premature, failed. They then prepared themselves better; they provoked petitions, they excited the sections, and urged them into legal insurrection. The Girondins resisted by instituting a commission authorized to investigate the plots of their adversaries; this commission acted against the Jacobins, roused their vengeance, and was swept away in a storm. Replaced on the following day, it was again swept away by the tremendous tempest of the 31st of May 1793. Finally, on the 2nd of June 1793, its members, and the deputies whom it was to defend, were torn from the bosom of the national representation, and like Louis XVI., reserved for a period until the violence should be sufficient to send them to the scaffold.

These, then, are the events which have occurred between the 10th of August 1792 and the 31st of May 1793. It is a long conflict between the two systems on the employment of means. The continually increasing danger imparted continually increasing virulence and rancour to the quarrel; and the generous deputation of the Gironde, exhausted by its efforts to avenge September 1792, to prevent the 21st of January 1793, the revolutionary tribunal, and the committee of public welfare, expired when the still greater danger had rendered violence more urgent and moderation less admissible. Now, all legality being overcome, all remonstrance stifled with the suspension of the Girondins, and the danger having become more alarming than ever, by means of the very insurrection that attempts to avenge the Gironde, violence breaks forth without obstacle or measure, and the terrible dictatorship, composed of the revolutionary tribunal and the committee of public safety, is completed.

Here commence scenes a hundred times more awful and more horrible than any of those which roused the indignation of the Girondins. As for them, their history is finished. All that remains to be added to it is the account of their heroic death. Their opposition was dangerous, their indignation impolitic; they compromised the Revolution, liberty, and France; they compromised moderation itself by defending it with acrimony; and in dying they involved in their ruin all that was most generous and most enlightened in France. Yet who would not have acted their part? who would not have committed their faults? Is it possible, in fact, to suffer blood to be spilt without resistance and without indignation? *

* See Appendix WWW.

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

A.

[Page 5.]

MADAME ELIZABETH.

"Madame Elizabeth Philippine Marie Hélène, sister to Louis XVI., was born at Versailles in the year 1764. She was the youngest child of Louis, Dauphin of France, and Marie Josephine of Saxony. At the commencement of the Revolution, Madame Elizabeth saw with terror the convocation of the States-general; but when it was found to be inevitable, she devoted herself from that moment entirely to the welfare of her brother and the royal family. She was condemned to death in 1794, and ascended the scaffold with twenty-four other victims, not one of whom she knew. She was thirty years old at the time of her execution, and demeaned herself throughout with courage and resignation."

-Biographie Moderne.

B.

[Page 16.]

THE COMTE DE DILLON.

"The Comte Arthur de Dillon, a general officer in the French service, was deputed from Martinique to the States-general, and embraced the revolutionary party. In 1792 he took one of the chief commands in the army of the North. In the year 1794 he was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal as a conspirator. He was forty-three years old, and was born at Berwick, in England."—*Biographie Moderne.*

C.

[Page 21.]

KELLERMANN.

"François Christophe Kellermann, a French general, began life as a private hussar, but was soon promoted for his skill and good conduct. In 1792 he obtained the command of the army of the Moselle, and distinguished himself at the battle of Valmy. In 1794 he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, but acquitted. In 1799 he became a

member of the Consular Senate; in 1802 he obtained the title of grand officer of the Legion of Honour; and soon afterwards was raised to the rank of Marshal of the Empire. He was father of the celebrated Kellermann, whose glorious charge decided the battle of Marengo."—*Biographie Moderne*.

D.

[Page 30.]

MAILLARD.

"Maillard, a runner belonging to the Châtelet at Paris, began, from the opening of the States-general, to signalize himself in all the tumults of the metropolis. In September 1792 he presided at the meeting at the Abbaye to regulate the massacre of the prisoners; and it has been said that he seized on the spoils of those who were murdered by his order. He afterwards became one of the denunciators of the prisons, and during the Reign of Terror appeared several times at La Force, to mark the victims who were to be condemned by the revolutionary tribunal."—*Biographie Moderne*.

E.

[Page 34.]

BILLAUD-VARENNES.

"Billaud-Varennes was born at Rochelle, which place he quitted several years before the Revolution, at the age of twenty-three, from vexation that the people there had hissed a theatrical piece of his composition. He then went to Paris, where he got himself admitted a barrister, and married a natural daughter of M. de Verdun, the only one of the farmers-general who was not guillotined. In 1792 he was substitute for the attorney of the commune of Paris, and became one of the directors of the September massacres. In 1795 he was sentenced to banishment to Guiana, where he was looked upon by the people as little better than a wild beast. His principal occupation during his exile was in breeding parrots. Billaud-Varennes was the author of many dull pamphlets."—*Biographie Moderne*.

F.

[Page 40.]

THE SEPTEMBER MASSACRES.

"At half-past two o'clock on Sunday, Sept. 2, we prisoners saw three carriages pass by, attended by a crowd of frantic men and women. They went on to the Abbey cloister, which had been converted into a prison for the clergy. In a moment after, we heard that the mob had just butchered all the ecclesiastics, who, they said, had been put into the

fold there. *Near four o'clock.*—The piercing cries of a man whom they were hacking to pieces with hangers drew us to the turret window of our prison, whence we saw a mangled corpse on the ground opposite to the door. Another was butchered in the same manner a moment afterwards. *Near seven o'clock.*—We saw two men enter our cell with drawn swords in their bloody hands. A turnkey showed the way with a flambeau, and pointed out to them the bed of the unfortunate Swiss soldier Reding. At this frightful moment I was clasping his hand, and endeavouring to console him. One of the assassins was going to lift him up, but the poor Swiss stopped him by saying in a dying tone of voice, 'I am not afraid of death; pray, sir, let me be killed here.' He was, however, borne away on the men's shoulders, carried into the street, and there murdered. *Ten o'clock, Monday morning.*—The most important matter that now employed our thoughts was to consider what posture we should put ourselves in when dragged to the place of slaughter, in order to receive death with the least pain. We sent from time to time some of our companions to the turret window to inform us of the attitude of the victims. They brought us back word that those who stretched out their hands suffered the longest, because the blows of the cutlasses were thereby weakened before they reached the head; that even some of the victims lost their hands and arms before their bodies fell; and that such as put their hands behind their backs must have suffered much less pain. We calculated the advantages of this last posture, and advised one another to adopt it when it should come to our turn to be butchered. *One o'clock, Tuesday morning.*—After enduring inconceivable tortures of mind, I was brought before my judges, proclaimed innocent, and set free."—*From a Journal entitled 'My Thirty-eight Hours' Agony,' by M. Journiac de Saint-Méard.*

G.

[Page 45.]

THE PRINCESSE DE LAMBALLE.

"The Princesse de Lamballe having been spared on the night of the 2nd, flung herself on her bed, oppressed with every species of anxiety and horror. She closed her eyes, but only to open them in an instant, startled with frightful dreams. About eight o'clock next morning two national guards entered her room to inform her that she was going to be removed to the Abbaye. She slipped on her gown, and went downstairs into the sessions-room. When she entered this frightful court, the sight of weapons stained with blood, and of executioners whose hands, faces, and clothes were smeared over with the same red dye, gave her such a shock that she fainted several times. At length she was subjected to a mock examination, after which, just as she was stepping across the threshold of the door, she received on the back of her head a blow with a hanger, which made the blood spout. Two men then laid fast hold of her, and obliged her to walk over dead bodies, while she was fainting every instant. They then completed her murder by running her through with their spears on a heap of corpses. She was afterwards stripped, and her naked body exposed to the insults of the populace. In this state it remained more than two hours. When any blood gushing from its wounds stained

the skin, some men, placed there for the purpose, immediately washed it off, to make the spectators take more particular notice of its whiteness. I must not venture to describe the excesses of barbarity and lustful indecency with which this corpse was defiled. I shall only say that a cannon was charged with one of the legs! Towards noon the murderers determined to cut off her head, and carry it in triumph round Paris. Her other scattered limbs were also given to troops of cannibals, who trailed them along the streets. The pike that supported the head was planted under the very windows of the Duc d'Orleans. He was sitting down to dinner at the time, but rose from his chair and gazed at the ghastly spectacle without discovering the least symptom of uneasiness, terror, or satisfaction."—*Peltier*.

"One day when my brother came to pay us a visit, he perceived, as he came along, groups of people whose sanguinary drunkenness was horrible. Many were naked to the waist, and their arms and breasts were covered with blood. Their countenances were inflamed, and their eyes haggard; in short, they looked hideous. My brother, in his uneasiness about us, determined to come to us at all risks, and drove rapidly along the Boulevard until he arrived opposite the house of Beaumarchais. There he was stopped by an immense mob, composed also of half-naked people besmeared with blood, and who had the appearance of demons. They vociferated, sang, and danced. It was the Saturnalia of hell! On perceiving Albert's cabriolet they cried out, 'Let it be taken to him; he is an aristocrat.' In a moment the cabriolet was surrounded by the multitude, and from the middle of the crowd an object seemed to arise and approach. My brother's troubled sight did not at first enable him to perceive long auburn tresses clotted with blood, and a countenance still lovely. The object came nearer and nearer, and rested upon his face. My unhappy brother uttered a piercing cry. He had recognized the head of the Princesse de Lamballe!"—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

"It is sometimes not uninteresting to follow the career of the wretches who perpetrate such crimes to their latter end. In a remote situation on the sea-coast lived a middle-aged man, in a solitary cottage, unattended by any human being. The police had strict orders from the First Consul to watch him with peculiar care. He died of suffocation produced by an accident which had befallen him when eating, uttering the most horrid blasphemies, and in the midst of frightful tortures. He had been the principal actor in the murder of the Princesse de Lamballe."—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

"Madame de Lamballe's sincere attachment to the Queen was her only crime. In the midst of our commotions she had played no part; nothing could render her suspected by the people, to whom she was only known by repeated acts of beneficence. When summoned to the bar of La Force many among the crowd besought pardon from her, and the assassins for a moment stood doubtful, but soon murdered her. Immediately they cut off her head and her breasts; her body was opened, her heart torn out; and the tigers who had so mangled her took a barbarous pleasure in going to show her head and heart to Louis XVI. and his family at the Temple. Madame de Lamballe was beautiful, gentle, obliging, and moderate."—*Mercier*.

"Marie Thérèse Louise de Savoie Carignan Lamballe, widow of Louis Alexander Joseph Stanislas de Bourbon Penthievre, Prince de Lamballe, was born in September 1749, and was mistress of the household to the Queen of France, to whom she was united by bonds of the tenderest affection."—*Biographie Moderne*.

H.

[Page 46.]

THE DAYS OF SEPTEMBER.

Subjoined are some valuable details respecting the days of September, which exhibit those horrid scenes under their genuine aspect. It was at the Jacobins that the most important disclosures were made, in consequence of the disputes which had arisen in the Convention.

Sitting of Monday, October 29, 1792.

Chabot.—"This morning Louvet made an assertion which it is essential to contradict. He told us that it was not the men of the 10th of August who were the authors of the 2nd of September; and I, as an eye-witness, can tell you that it was the very same men. He told us that there were not more than two hundred persons acting, and I will tell you that I passed under a steel arch of ten thousand swords. For the truth of this I appeal to Bazire, Colon, and the other deputies who were with me: from the Cour des Moines to the prison of the Abbaye, people were obliged to squeeze one another to make a passage for us. I recognized, for my part, one hundred and fifty federalists. It is impossible that Louvet and his adherents should not have been present at these popular executions. Yet a man who can coolly deliver a speech such as Louvet's cannot have much humanity. At any rate I know that since that speech I would not lie down by him for fear of being assassinated. I summon Petion to declare if it be true that there were not more than two hundred men at that execution; but it was to be expected that intriguers would fall foul of that day respecting which all France is not yet enlightened. . . . They want to destroy the patriots in detail. They want decrees of accusation against Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and Santerre. They will soon attack Bazire, Merlin, Chabot, Montaut, and even Grangeneuve, if he had not reconciled himself with them; they will then propose a decree against the whole Faubourg St. Antoine, and against the forty-eight sections, and there will be eight hundred thousand of us decreed under accusation: but let them beware of miscalculating their strength, since they demand the ostracism."

Sitting of Monday, November 5.

"Fabre d'Eglantine made some observations on the events of the 2nd of September. He declared that it was the men of the 10th of August who broke into the prisons of the Abbaye, of Orleans, and of Versailles. He said that in these moments of crisis he had seen the same men come to Danton's, and express their satisfaction by rubbing their hands together; that one of them even desired that Morande might be sacrificed: he added that he had seen in the garden of the minister for foreign affairs, Roland, the minister, pale, dejected, with his head leaning against a tree, demanding the removal of the Convention to Tours or

Blois. The speaker added that Danton alone displayed the greatest energy of character on that day; that Danton never despaired of the salvation of the country; that by stamping upon the ground he made ten thousand defenders start from it; and that he had sufficient moderation not to make a bad use of the species of dictatorship with which the National Assembly had invested him, by decreeing that those who should counteract the ministerial operations should be punished with death. Fabre then declared that he had received a letter from Madame Roland, in which the wife of the minister of the interior begged him to lend a hand to an expedient devised for the purpose of carrying some decrees in the Convention. The speaker proposed that the society should pass a resolution for drawing up an address comprehending all the historical details of the events which had occurred from the acquittal of Lafayette to that day."

Chabot.—"These are facts which it is of importance to know. On the 10th of August the people in their insurrection designed to sacrifice the Swiss. At that time the Brissotins did not consider themselves as the men of the 10th of August, for they came to implore us to take pity on them—such was the very expression of Lasource. On that day I was a god. I saved one hundred and fifty Swiss. Single-handed I stopped at the door of the Feuillans the people eager to penetrate into the hall for the purpose of sacrificing those unfortunate Swiss to their vengeance. The Brissotins were then apprehensive lest the massacre should extend to them. After what I had done on the 10th of August, I expected that on the 2nd of September I should be deputed to the people. Well, the extraordinary commission under the presidency of the supreme Brissot did not choose me. Whom did it choose? Dussaulx, with whom, it is true, Bazire was associated. At the same time it was well known what men were qualified to influence the people, and to stop the effusion of blood. The deputation was passing me; Bazire begged me to join it, and took me along with him. . . . Had Dussaulx private instructions? I know not; but this I know, that he would not allow any one to speak. Amidst an assemblage of ten thousand men, among whom were one hundred and fifty Marseillais, Dussaulx mounted a chair. He was extremely awkward: he had to address men armed with daggers. When he at length obtained silence, I said hastily to him, 'If you manage well, you will put a stop to the effusion of blood: tell the Parisians that it is to their interest that the massacres should cease, that the departments may not be alarmed for the safety of the National Convention which is about to assemble in Paris.' Dussaulx heard me; but whether from insincerity or the pride of age, he would not do what I told him; and this is that M. Dussaulx who is proclaimed the only worthy man in the deputation of Paris! A second fact not less essential is, that the massacre of the prisoners of Orleans was not committed by the Parisians. This massacre ought to appear much more odious, because it was farther distant from the 10th of August, and was perpetrated by a smaller number of men. The intriguers nevertheless have not mentioned it; they have not said a word about it. And why? Because there perished an enemy of Brissot, the minister for foreign affairs, who had ousted his *protégé*, Narbonne. . . . If I alone at the door of the Feuillans stopped the people who wanted to sacrifice the Swiss, how much greater is the probability that the Legislative Assembly might have prevented the effusion of blood! If, then, there be any guilt, to the Legislative Assembly it must be imputed, or rather to Brissot, who was then its leader."

I.

[Page 50.]

COMTE DE CLAIRFAYT.

"Comte de Clairfayt, a Walloon officer, field-marshal in the Austrian service, and Knight of the Golden Fleece, served with great credit in the war with the Turks, and in 1791 was employed against France. He assisted in taking Longwy in August, and in November lost the famous battle of Jemappes. In 1793 the Prince of Coburg took the chief command of the Austrian army; yet its successes were not the less owing to Clairfayt. In 1794 he continued to command a body of men, and met Pichegru in West Flanders, with whom he fought seven important battles before he resigned the victory to him. In 1796 Clairfayt entered the aulic council of war, and died at Vienna in 1798. Military men consider him the best general that was ever opposed to the French during the revolutionary war."—*Biographie Moderne*.

J.

[Page 52.]

GENERAL BEURNONVILLE.

"Pierre Ryel de Beurnonville was born at Champigneul in 1752, and intended for the Church, but was bent on becoming a soldier. He was employed in 1792 as a general under Dumouriez, who called him his Ajax. During the war he was arrested, and conveyed to the headquarters of the Prince of Coburg; but in 1795 he was exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. In 1797 Beurnonville was appointed to the command of the French army in Holland; and in the following year was made inspector-general by the Directory. He was one of those who sided with Bonaparte when the latter brought about a new revolution in 1799, and afterwards received from him the embassy to Berlin. He was at a subsequent period sent as ambassador to Madrid; and in 1805 was chosen a senator. From the year 1791 to 1793 Beurnonville was present in not less than 172 engagements."—*Biographie Moderne*.

K.

[Page 57.]

FRANCISCO MIRANDA.

"Dumouriez says that Miranda was born in Peru; others, that he was a native of Mexico. He led a wandering life for some years, traversed the greatest part of Europe, lived much in England, and was in Russia at the time of the French Revolution; which event opening a career

to him, he went to Paris, and there, protected by Petion, soon made his way. He had good natural and acquired abilities, and was particularly skilful as an engineer. In 1792 he was sent to command the artillery in Champagne under Dumouriez, whom he afterwards accompanied into the Low Countries. While there he intrigued against that general in the most perfidious manner, and was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, by whom, however, he was acquitted. In 1803 he was arrested at Paris on suspicion of forming plots against the consular government, and was sentenced to transportation. The battle of Nerwinde, in 1793, was lost entirely by the folly or cowardice of Miranda, who withdrew almost at the beginning of the action, and abandoned all his artillery."—*Biographie Moderne*.

L.

[Page 73.]

DAVID.

"Jacques Louis David, a celebrated painter, elector of Paris in 1792, was one of the warmest friends of Robespierre. He voted for the death of Louis XVI. He contrived the Mountain on which Robespierre gave a public festival in the field of Mars. In 1794 he presided in the Convention. In 1800 the Consuls made him the national artist, when he painted for the Hospital of the Invalids a picture of General Bonaparte. In 1805 he was appointed to paint the scene of the Emperor's coronation. David was unquestionably the first French painter of the modern school; and this consideration had some weight in obtaining his pardon in 1794, when he had been accused of being a Terrorist. A swelling which David had in his cheeks rendered his features hideous. He was a member of the Legion of Honour; and his daughter, in 1805, married a colonel of infantry."—*Biographie Moderne*.

M.

[Page 73.]

FABRE D'EGLANTINE.

"Fabre d'Eglantine was a native of Carcassone. He was known at the commencement of the Revolution by works which had little success, and since that time by comedies not destitute of merit; but above all, by criminal conduct both as a public and a private man. Of low birth, he possessed a vanity which rendered him intolerable. He could not endure the nobility. While he was obliged to bend before it, he was content with abusing it, as he could do no more; but when the course of events had placed him in a position to crush those he hated, he rushed on them with the rage of a tiger, and tore them to pieces with delight. I have heard him say, nearly like Caligula, that he wished the nobles had but one head, that he might strike it off at a single blow.

In 1793, during the trial of Louis XVI., he was solicited to be favourable to that unfortunate Prince. 'You will enjoy the pleasure of doing a good action,' said the applicant. 'I know a pleasure far superior to that,' replied Fabre; 'it is the pleasure felt by a commoner in condemning a king to death.'—*Memoirs of a Peer of France*.

N.

[Page 73.]

COLLOT-D'HERBOIS.

"Jean Marie Collot-d'Herbois first appeared on the stage, and had little success. He played at Geneva, at the Hague, and at Lyons, where, having been often hissed, he vowed the most cruel vengeance against that town. The line of acting in which he played best was that of tyrants in tragedies. He went to Paris at the beginning of the Revolution, and embraced the popular cause. Possessed of a fine face, a powerful voice, and great boldness, he became one of the oracles at the Jacobin Club. He was no stranger to the September massacres. During the King's trial he sat at the top of the Mountain, by Robespierre's side, and voted for the monarch's death. It has been said of this man, who was surnamed the Tiger, that he was the most sanguinary of the Terrorists. In 1793 he took his departure for Lyons, and protested that the South should soon be purified. It is from the time of this mission that his horrible celebrity takes its rise. He sent for a column of the revolutionary army, and organized the demolitions, and the employment of cannon in order to make up for the slowness of the guillotine at Lyons. The victims, when about to be shot, were bound to a cord fixed to trees, and a picket of infantry marched round the place, firing successively on the condemned. The *mitrallades*, the executions by artillery, took place in the Brotteaux. Those who were destined for this punishment were ranged two by two on the edge of the ditches that had been dug to receive their bodies, and cannons loaded with small bits of metal were fired upon them; after which some troops of the revolutionary army despatched the wounded with swords or bayonets. Two women and a young girl having solicited the pardon of their husbands and brothers, Collot-d'Herbois had them bound on the scaffold where their relations expired, and their blood spouted out on them. On his return to Paris, being denounced to the National Convention by petitioners from Lyons, he answered that 'the cannon had been fired but once on sixty of the most guilty, to destroy them with a single stroke.' The Convention approved of his measures, and ordered that his speech should be printed. In the year 1794, returning home at one o'clock in the morning, Collot was attacked by Admiral, who fired at him twice with a pistol, but missed his aim. The importance which this adventure gave him, both in the Convention, of which he was nominated president, and elsewhere, irritated the self-love of Robespierre, whom Collot afterwards denounced. In 1795 he was transported to Guiana, where he endeavoured to stir up the blacks against the whites. He died in the following year of a violent fever, which was increased by his drinking a bottle of brandy. Collot published some pamphlets and several theatrical pieces, but none of them deserve notice."—*Biographie Moderne*.

O.

[Page 74.]

L. S. FRERON.

"L. S. Freron was son of the journalist Freron, the antagonist of Voltaire and of the philosophic sect. Brought up at the college Louis-le-Grand with Robespierre, he became in the Revolution his friend, his emulator, and at last his denouncer. In 1789 he began to edit the 'Orator of the People,' and became the coadjutor of Marat. Being sent with Barras on a mission to the South, he displayed extreme cruelty and activity. On their arrival at Marseilles in 1793, they published a proclamation announcing that Terror was the order of the day, and that to save Marseilles, and to raze Toulon, were the aims of their labours. 'Things go on well here,' wrote Freron to Moses Bayle: 'we have required twelve thousand masons to raze the town; every day since our arrival we have caused two hundred heads to fall, and already eight hundred Toulonese have been shot. All the great measures have been neglected at Marseilles; if they had only shot eight hundred conspirators, as has been done here, and had appointed a committee to condemn the rest, we should not have been in the condition we now are.' It was at first intended to put to death all who had accepted any office, or borne arms in the town during the siege. Freron consequently signified to them that they must all go, under pain of death, to the Champ de Mars. The Toulonese, thinking to obtain pardon by this submission, obeyed, and eight thousand persons were assembled at the appointed place. All the representatives (Barras, Salicetti, Ricord, Robespierre the younger, &c.) were shocked at the sight of this multitude; Freron himself, surrounded by a formidable train, saw these numerous victims with terror; at last, by the advice of Barras, a jury was appointed, and a great number of the most guilty instantly shot. The shooting with muskets being insufficient, they had afterwards recourse to the *mitraille*; and it was in another execution of this nature that Freron, in order to despatch the victims who had not perished by the first discharge, cried out, 'Let those who are still living, rise; the republic pardons them.' Some unhappy creatures trusting to this promise, he caused them to be immediately fired upon. On quitting Toulon, Freron went with his coadjutors to finish the depopulation of Marseilles, which they declared a commune without a name, and where they destroyed more than four hundred individuals, by means of a criminal tribunal, and afterwards of a military committee. At the same time they caused the finest edifices of the city to be destroyed. Returning from his proconsulship, Freron soon became an object of suspicion to Robespierre, whom he attacked in return, and contributed greatly to his ruin. From this period he showed himself the enemy of the Terrorists, and pursued them with a fury worthy of a former companion. He proposed in the Convention that death should no longer be inflicted for revolutionary crimes, except for emigration, promotion of the royal cause, and military treason, and that transportation should be substituted instead. At the time of the expedition to St. Domingo in 1802, Freron was appointed prefect of the South, and went with General Leclerc; but he sank under the influence of the climate, after an illness of six days."—*Biographie Moderne*.

P.

[Page 76.]

BUZOT.

"F. N. L. Buzot was born at Evreux in 1760, and was an advocate in that city at the time of the Revolution, which he embraced with ardour. In 1792 he was deputed by the Eure to the National Assembly. At the time of the King's trial he voted for his death, though not for his immediate execution, and he was even one of those who most warmly solicited a reprieve for him. In the March following he more than once gave warning of the despotism of the mob of Paris, and ended one of his speeches by threatening that city with the sight of the grass growing in the streets if confusion should reign there much longer. In April he contended against the Jacobins, who, he said, were influenced by men of blood. Having been denounced as a Girondin, he made his escape from Paris, and after wandering about some time, was found, together with Petion, dead in a field, and half eaten by wolves."—*Biographie Moderne*.

Q.

[Page 97.]

GARAT.

"D. J. Garat the younger was a man of letters, a member of the Institute, and professor of history in the Lyceum of Paris. In 1792 he was appointed minister of justice, and commissioned to inform Louis of his condemnation. In the following year he became minister of the interior. Garat survived all the perils of the Revolution, and in 1806 he pronounced in the Senate one of the most eloquent speeches that were ever made on the victories of the Emperor Napoleon. Garat published several works on the Revolution."—*Biographie Moderne*.

R.

[Page 98.]

THE TEMPLE.

"The small tower of the Temple in which the King was then confined stood with its back against the great tower, without any interior communication, and formed a long square, flanked by two turrets. In one of these turrets there was a narrow staircase that led from the first floor

to a gallery on the platform; in the other were small rooms, answering to each storey of the tower. The body of the building was four storeys high. The first consisted of an ante-chamber, a dining-room, and a small room in the turret, where there was a library containing from twelve to fifteen hundred volumes. The second storey was divided nearly in the same manner. The largest room was the Queen's bed-chamber, in which the Dauphin also slept; the second, which was separated from the Queen's by a small ante-chamber almost without light, was occupied by Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth. This chamber was the only way to the turret-room in this storey, and the turret-room was the only place of office for this whole range of building, being in common for the royal family, the municipal officers, and the soldiers. The King's apartments were on the third storey. He slept in the great room, and made a study of the turret closet. There was a kitchen separated from the King's chamber by a small dark room, which had been successively occupied by M. de Chamilly and M. de Hue, and on which the seals were now fixed. The fourth storey was shut up; and on the ground-floor there were kitchens of which no use was made. The King usually rose at six in the morning. He shaved himself, and I dressed his hair; he then went to his reading-room, which being very small, the municipal officer on duty remained in the bed-chamber with the door open, that he might always keep the King in sight. His Majesty continued praying on his knees for some time, and then read till nine. During that interval, after putting his chamber in order, and preparing the breakfast, I went down to the Queen, who never opened her door till I arrived, in order to prevent the municipal officer from going into her apartment. At nine o'clock the Queen, the children, and Madame Elizabeth went up to the King's chamber to breakfast. At ten the King and his family went down to the Queen's chamber and there passed the day. He employed himself in educating his son, made him recite passages from Corneille and Racine, gave him lessons in geography, and exercised him in colouring the maps. The Queen, on her part, was employed in the education of her daughter; and these different lessons lasted till eleven o'clock. The remaining time till noon was passed in needlework, knitting, or making tapestry. At one o'clock, when the weather was fine, the royal family were conducted to the garden by four municipal officers and the commander of a legion of the national guards. At two we returned to the tower, where I served the dinner, at which time Santerre regularly came to the Temple, attended by two aides-de-camp. The King sometimes spoke to him; the Queen, never. In the evening the family sat round a table, while the Queen read to them from books of history, or other works proper to instruct and amuse the children. Madame Elizabeth took the book in her turn, and in this manner they read till eight o'clock. After the Dauphin had supped, I undressed him, and the Queen heard him say his prayers. At nine the King went to supper, and afterwards went for a moment to the Queen's chamber, shook hands with her and her sister for the night, kissed his children, and then retired to the turret-room, where he sat reading till midnight. The Queen and the Princesses locked themselves in, and one of the municipal officers remained in the little room which parted their chamber, where he passed the night; the other followed his Majesty. In this manner was the time passed as long as the King remained in the small tower."—*Cléry*.

S.

[Page 100.]

COMTE CUSTINE.

“Comte Adam Philippe Custine, born at Metz in 1740, served as captain in the Seven Years’ War. Through the influence of the Duc de Choiseul, he obtained, in 1762, a regiment of dragoons, which was called by his name. In 1780 he exchanged this for the regiment of Saintonge, which was on the point of going to America to the aid of the colonies. On his return he was appointed *Maréchal de Camp*. In 1789 he was deputy of the nobility of Metz, and was one of the first who declared for the popular party. He subsequently entered the army of the North, and in 1792 made himself master of the pass of Porentruy. He then received the command of the army of the Lower Rhine, and opened the campaign by taking possession of Spire. He next took Worms, then the fortress of Mentz, and then Frankfort-on-the-Maine, on which he laid heavy contributions. In 1793 he was denounced, and received his dismissal; but the Convention afterwards invested him with the command of the Northern army. But he had hardly time to visit the posts. Marat and Varennes were unceasing in their accusations against him; and the revolutionary tribunal soon afterwards condemned him to death.”—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

T.

[Page 109.]

SPEECH OF COLLOT-D’HERBOIS.

The report of the speech addressed by Collot-d’Herbois to Dumouriez, as given in the *Journal des Jacobins*, is as follows:—

“I meant to speak of our armies, and I congratulated myself on having to speak of them in the presence of the soldier whom you have just heard. I meant to censure the answer of the president; I have already said several times that the president ought never to reply to the members of the society; but he has replied to all the soldiers of the army. This answer gives to all a signal testimony of your satisfaction. Dumouriez will share it with all his brethren in arms, for he knows that without them his glory would be nothing. We must accustom ourselves to this language. Dumouriez has done his duty. This is his best recompense. It is not because he is a general that I praise him, but because he is a French soldier.

“Is it not true, general, that it is a glorious thing to command a republican army? that thou hast found a great difference between this army and those of despotism? The French are not possessed of bravery only; they have something beyond the mere contempt of death: for who is there that fears death? But those inhabitants of Lille and Thionville, who coolly await the red-hot balls, who continue immovable amid the bursting of bombs and the destruction of their houses— is not this the

development of all the virtues? Ah, yes, those virtues are above all triumphs! A new manner of making war is now invented, and our enemies will not find it out: tyrants will not be able to do anything so long as free men shall be resolved to defend themselves.

"A great number of our brethren have fallen in the defence of liberty: they are dead, but their memory is dear to us. They have left examples which live in our hearts—but do they live who have attacked us? No; they are crushed, and their cohorts are but heaps of carcasses which are rotting on the spot where they fought; they are but an infectious dunghill which the sun of liberty will have great difficulty to purify. . . . That host of walking skeletons closely resembles the skeleton of tyranny; and like it they will not fail to succumb. . . . What is become of those old generals of high renown? Their shadow vanishes before the almighty genius of liberty: they flee, and they have but dungeons for their retreat, for dungeons will soon be the only palaces of despots: they flee because the nations are rising.

"It was not a king who appointed thee, Dumouriez; it was thy fellow-citizens: recollect that a general of the republic ought never to treat with tyrants; recollect that such generals as thyself ought never to serve any but liberty. Thou hast heard of Themistocles: he had saved Greece by the battle of Salamis: he was calumniated—thou hast thy enemies, Dumouriez: thou shalt be calumniated, and that is the reason I talk to thee—Themistocles was calumniated; he was unjustly punished by his fellow-citizens; he found an asylum among tyrants, but still he was Themistocles. He was asked to bear arms against his country. 'My sword,' said he, 'shall never serve tyrants!' and he plunged it into his heart. I will also remind thee of Scipio. Antiochus endeavoured to bribe that great man by offering him a most valuable hostage, his own son. 'Thou hast not wealth enough to purchase my conscience,' replied Scipio, 'and nature knows no love superior to the love of country.'

"Nations are groaning in slavery. Thou wilt soon deliver them. What a glorious mission! Success is not doubtful; the citizens who are waiting for thee, hope for thee; and those who are here urge thee on. We must, however, reproach thee with some excess of generosity towards thine enemies; thou hast conducted back the King of Prussia rather too much in the French manner—in the old French manner, that is to say. (*Applause.*) But let us hope that Austria will pay double; she has money; don't spare her; thou canst not make her pay too much for the outrages which her race has committed upon mankind.

"Thou art going to Brussels, Dumouriez (*applause*); thou wilt pass through Courtrai. There the French name has been profaned; the traitor Jarry has burned houses. Thus far I have spoken only to thy courage. I now speak to thy heart. Be mindful of those unfortunate inhabitants of Courtrai; disappoint not their hopes this time; promise them the justice of the nation; the nation will stand by thee.

"When thou shalt be at Brussels . . . I have nothing to say to thee concerning the conduct which thou hast to pursue. . . . If thou there findest an execrable woman who came to the foot of the walls of Lille to feast her ferocity with the sight of red-hot balls . . . but that woman will not await thee. . . . If thou shouldst find her, she would be thy prisoner; we have others belonging to her family . . . thou wouldst send her hither . . . let her be shaved in such a manner that she never again could wear a wig.

"At Brussels liberty will revive under thy auspices. A whole nation

will give itself up to joy: thou wilt restore children to their fathers, wives to their husbands; the sight of their happiness will be a recreation to thee after thy labours. Boys, citizens, girls, women, will throng around thee—will all embrace thee as their father! Ah! how happy wilt thou be, Dumouriez! . . . My wife, she comes from Brussels; she will embrace thee too.”

This speech was frequently interrupted by vehement applause.

U.

[Page 112.]

MARAT'S VISIT TO DUMOURIEZ.

The following account of the visit paid by Marat to Dumouriez at Mademoiselle Candaille's is extracted from the *Journal de la République Française*. It was written by Marat himself, and published in his paper of Tuesday, October 17, 1792.

“Declaration of the Friend of the People.

“Less surprised than indignant at seeing former valets of the Court, placed by the course of events at the head of our armies, and since the 10th of August kept in their places by influence, intrigue, and stupidity, carry their audacity so far as to degrade and treat as criminals two patriot battalions, upon the ridiculous and most probably false pretext that some individuals had murdered four Prussian deserters; I presented myself at the tribune of the Jacobins to expose this odious proceeding, and to apply for two commissioners distinguished for their civism to accompany me to Dumouriez, and to be witnesses of his answers to my questions. I repaired to him with citizens Bentaolle and Monteau, two of my colleagues in the Convention. We were told that he was gone to the play, and was to sup in town.

“We knew that he had returned from the Variétés; we went in quest of him to the club of D. Cypher, where we were told that he was expected to be. Labour lost. At length we learned that he was to sup at the little house of Talma, in the Rue Chantereine. A file of carriages and brilliant illuminations pointed out to us the temple where the children of Thalia were entertaining a son of Mars. We were surprised to find Parisian national guards within and without. After passing through an ante-chamber full of servants, intermixed with heiduks, we arrived at a salon containing a numerous company.

“At the door was Santerre, general of the Parisian army, performing the office of lackey, or gentleman-usher. He announced me in a loud voice the moment he saw me, which displeased me exceedingly, inasmuch as it was likely to drive away certain masks which one would like to be acquainted with. However, I saw enough to gain a clue to the intrigues. I shall say nothing of half a score of fairies destined to grace the entertainment. Politics were probably not the object of their meeting. Neither shall I say anything of the national officers who were paying their court to the great general, or of the old valets of the Court

who formed his retinue, in the dress of aides-de-camp. And lastly, I shall say nothing of the master of the house, who was among them in the costume of a player. But I cannot help declaring, in illustration of the operations of the Convention, and of the character of the jugglers of decrees, that in the august company were Kersaint, the great busybody Lebrun, Roland, Lasource, . . . Chenier, all tools of the faction of the federative republic, and Dulaure and Gorsas, their libelling errand-boys. As there was a large party, I distinguished three conspirators only: perhaps they were more numerous; and as it was now still early, it is probable that they had not all arrived, for the Vergniauds, the Buzots, the Camuses, the Rabauts, the Lacroix, the Guadets, the Barbaroux, and other leaders were no doubt of the party, since they belong to the secret conclave.

"Before I proceed to our conversation with Dumouriez, I shall here pause a moment to make with the judicious reader some observations that will not be misplaced. Is it to be conceived that this generalissimo of the republic, who has suffered the King of Prussia to escape from Verdun, and who has capitulated with the enemy, whom he might have cooped up in his camps, and forced to lay down his arms, instead of favouring his retreat, should have chosen so critical a moment to abandon the armies under his command, to run to playhouses, to get himself applauded, and to indulge in orgies at an actor's with nymphs of the opera?"

"Dumouriez has disguised the secret motives which call him to Paris, under the pretext of concerting with the ministers the plan of the operations of the campaign. What! with a Roland, a *frère coupe-choux* and petty intriguer, acquainted only with the mean ways of lying and low cunning! with a Lepage, a worthy disciple of his patron, Roland! with a Clavières, who knows nothing but the terms of stockbrokering! with a Garat, who comprehends nothing but the affected phrases and the tricks of an academic parasite! I shall say nothing of Monge: he is deemed a patriot; but he is just as ignorant of military operations as his colleagues, who know nothing at all about them. Dumouriez is come to concert with the leaders of the party which is caballing for the establishment of a federative republic. That is his errand.

"On entering the salon where the entertainment was given, I perceived plainly that my presence damped the gaiety of the guests, which is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that I am a bugbear to the enemies of the country. Dumouriez in particular appeared disconcerted. I begged him to step with me into another room, as I wished to converse with him a few moments in private. I addressed him, and our conversation was word for word as follows:—'We are members of the National Convention, and we come, Sir, to beg you to give us some explanation relative to the affair of the two battalions, the Mauconseil and the Republicain, accused by you of having murdered four Prussian deserters in cold blood. We have searched the offices of the military committee and those of the war department; we cannot there find the least proof of the crime; and nobody can furnish information on all these points but yourself.' 'Gentlemen, I have sent all the documents to the minister.' 'We assure you, Sir, that we have in our hands a memorial, drawn up in his office and in his name, purporting that there are no facts whatever for pronouncing upon this alleged crime, and that for such we must address ourselves to you.' 'But, gentlemen, I have informed the Convention, and to it I refer

you.' 'Permit us, Sir, to observe that the information furnished is not sufficient, since the committees of the Convention, to which this matter has been referred, have declared in their report that it was impossible for them to pronounce for want of particulars and proofs of the crime denounced. We beg you to say whether you know all the circumstances of this affair.' 'Certainly, of my own knowledge.' 'Then it is not merely a confidential denunciation made by you on the faith of M. Duchaseau?' 'But, gentlemen, when I assert a thing, I think I ought to be believed.' 'Sir, if we thought as you do on that point, we should not have taken the step that has brought us hither. We have great reasons to doubt: several members of the military committee have informed us that these pretended Prussians were four French emigrants.' 'Well, gentlemen, if that were the case?' 'Sir, that would absolutely change the state of the matter, and without approving beforehand the conduct of the battalions, perhaps they are absolutely innocent: it is the circumstances which provoked the murder that it is important to know. Now, letters from the army state that these emigrants were discovered to be spies sent by the enemy, and that they even rose against the national guards.' 'What, Sir, do you then approve the insubordination of the soldiers?' 'No, Sir, I do not approve the insubordination of the soldiers: but I detest the tyranny of the officers. I have too much reason to believe that this is a machination of Duchaseau against the patriot battalions, and the manner in which you have treated them is revolting.' 'Monsieur Marat, you are too warm; I cannot enter into explanations with you.' Here Dumouriez, finding himself too closely pressed, extricated himself from the dilemma by leaving us. My two colleagues followed him, and in the conversation which they had with him he confined himself to saying that he had sent the documents to the minister. While they were talking I found myself surrounded by all the aides-de-camp of Dumouriez, and by the officers of the Parisian guard. Santerre strove to appease me; he talked to me about the necessity of subordination in the troops. 'I know that as well as you,' I replied: 'but I am disgusted at the manner in which the soldiers of the country are treated: I have still at heart the massacres at Nancy and in the Champ de Mars.' Here some aides-de-camp of Dumouriez began to declaim against agitators. 'Cease those ridiculous exclamations!' I exclaimed; 'there are no agitators in our armies but the infamous officers, their spies, and the perfidious courtiers, whom we have had the folly to leave at the head of our troops.' I spoke to Moreton Chabillant and to Bourdoin, one of whom was formerly a valet of the Court, and the other a spy of Lafayette.

"I was indignant at all that I had heard, and at all the atrocity that I suspected in the odious conduct of our generals. As I could not bear to stay any longer, I left the party, and I beheld with astonishment in the adjoining room, the doors of which were ajar, several of Dumouriez's heiduks with drawn swords at their shoulders. I know not what could be the object of this ridiculous farce; if it was contrived for the purpose of intimidating me, it must be admitted that the valets of Dumouriez entertain high notions of liberty. Have patience, gentlemen, we will teach you to know it. Meanwhile be assured that your master dreads the point of my pen much more than I fear the swords of his ragamuffins."

V.

[Page 113.]

MONTESQUIOU.

"Anne Pierre Montesquiou Fezenzac, born in 1741, was a major-general, a member of the French Academy, and deputy from the nobility of Paris to the States-general. In 1791, at the time of the King's flight, he declared himself devoted to the Assembly, and renewing his civic oath, was sent into the departments of the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Ardennes, in order to dispose the minds of the people in favour of the Assembly. Some time after he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the South; he was soon afterwards denounced by Barrère as having sought to favour the King of Sardinia, and hurt the interest of the patriots in his treaty with the republic of Geneva. A decree of accusation was then passed against him, but when the commissioners appointed to seize him arrived at the gates of Geneva, they learned that he was gone into Switzerland, and had carried with him the military chest, to compensate for the property he had left in France. A decree of 1795 left Montesquiou at liberty to return to France; and in 1797 he reappeared in the constitutional circle, which the Directory then endeavoured to oppose to the Clichyan party. He died at Paris in 1798."—*Biographie Moderne*.

W.

[Page 119.]

JEROME PETION.

Among the coolest and most impartial minds of the Revolution must be placed Petion. No one has formed a sounder judgment of the two parties which divided the Convention. His equity was so well known that both sides agreed to choose him for their umpire. The accusations which took place at the very opening of the Assembly excited warm disputes at the Jacobins. Fabre d'Eglantine proposed that the matter should be referred to Petion's decision. On this subject he thus expressed himself in the sitting of October 29, 1792:—

"There is another way which I think useful, and which will produce a greater effect. Almost always when any vast intrigue has been on foot, it has had need of power. It has been obliged to make great efforts to attach a great personal credit to itself. If there existed a man who had seen everything, who had appreciated everything in both parties, you could not doubt that this man, a friend to truth, would be most fit to make it known. Well, I propose that you invite this man, a member of your society, to pronounce upon the crimes that are imputed to the patriots. Force his virtue to tell all that he has seen—that man is Petion. Whatever partiality a man may have for his friends, I venture to assert that intriguers have not corrupted Petion;

he is still pure, still sincere. I say so here. I frequently talk to him in the Convention, in moments of agitation, and he always tells me that he grieves. I see that he does grieve—inwardly. This morning he determined to ascend the tribune. He cannot refuse to write you his opinion, and we shall see if intriguers can divert him from it.

“Observe, citizens, that this step of itself will prove that you seek nothing but the truth. It is an homage which you pay to the virtue of a good patriot, with the more urgent motives, since liars have wrapped themselves up in his virtue to give themselves consequence. I demand that the motion be put to the vote.” (*Applause.*)

Legendre then spoke. “The thing was contrived, that is evident. The distribution of Brissot’s speech, the report of the minister of the interior, the speech of Louvet brought in his pocket, all proved that the matter was concerted. The speech of Brissot on the erasure contains all that Louvet has said. The report of Roland was intended to furnish Louvet with an opportunity for speaking. I approve of Fabre’s motion; the Convention will soon pronounce; Robespierre is to be heard on Monday. I beg the society to suspend the decision. It is impossible that in a free country virtue should succumb to crime.”

After this quotation, I think it right to introduce the paper written by Petion relative to the dispute between Louvet and Robespierre. This paper, and the extracts given elsewhere from Garat, contain the most valuable particulars respecting the conduct and character of the men of that time, and they are documents which history ought to preserve as most capable of conveying just ideas of that epoch.

“Citizens, I had determined to observe the most absolute silence relative to the events which have occurred since the 10th of August; motives of delicacy and solicitude for the public welfare decided me to use this reserve.

“But it is impossible to be silent any longer: on both sides my testimony is called for; every one urges me to declare my sentiments. I will tell with frankness what I know of men, what I think of things.

“I have been a near spectator of the scenes of the Revolution. I have seen the cabals, the intrigues, the tumultuous struggles between tyranny and liberty, between vice and virtue.

“When the working of the human passions is laid bare, when we perceive the secret springs which have directed the most important operations, when we know all the perils which liberty has incurred, when we penetrate into the abyss of corruption which threatened every moment to engulf us, we ask ourselves with astonishment by what series of prodigies we have arrived at the point where we this day are!

“Revolutions ought to be seen at a distance: this veil is highly necessary to them; ages efface the stains which darken them; posterity perceives only the results. Our descendants will deem us great. Let us render them better than ourselves.

“I pass over the circumstances anterior to that ever-memorable day which erected liberty upon the ruins of tyranny, and changed the monarchy into a republic.

“The men who have attributed to themselves the glory of that day are the men to whom it least belongs: it is due to those who prepared it; it is due to the imperious nature of things; it is due to the brave federalists, and to their secret directory, which had long been concerting the plan of the insurrection; it is due to the people: lastly, it is due to the guardian spirit which has constantly presided over the destinies of France ever since the first assembly of her representatives.

"Success, it must be admitted, was for a moment uncertain; and those who are really acquainted with the particulars of that day know who were the intrepid defenders of the country, that prevented the Swiss and all the satellites of despotism from remaining masters of the field of battle, and who they were that rallied the civic legions, which were for a moment staggered.

"That day had been brought about, too, without the concurrence of the commissioners of several sections assembled at the house of the commune. The members of the old municipality, who had not separated the whole night, were still sitting at half-past nine in the morning.

"These commissioners conceived, nevertheless, a grand idea, and took a bold step by possessing themselves of all the municipal powers, and in stepping into the place of a general council, of whose weakness and corruption they were apprehensive. They courageously risked their lives in case success should not justify the enterprise.

"Had these commissioners been wise enough to lay down their authority at the right time, to return to the rank of private citizens after the patriotic action which they had performed, they would have covered themselves with glory; but they could not withstand the allurements of power, and the ambition of governing took possession of them.

"In the first intoxicating moments of the triumph of liberty, and after so violent a commotion, it was impossible that everything should be instantly restored to tranquillity and to its accustomed order; it would have been unjust to require this: the new council of the commune was then assailed with reproaches that were not well founded, and that proved an ignorance both of its situation and of circumstances; but these commissioners began to deserve them when they themselves prolonged the revolutionary movement beyond the proper time.

"The National Assembly had spoken out; it had assumed a grand character; it had passed decrees which saved the empire; it had suspended the King; it had effaced the line of demarcation which divided the citizens into two classes; it had called together the Convention. The royalist party was cast down. It was necessary thenceforth to rally around it, to fortify it with opinion, to environ it with confidence: duty and sound policy dictated this course.

"The commune deemed it more glorious to vie with the Assembly. It began a struggle likely only to throw discredit on all that had passed, to induce a belief that the Assembly was under the irresistible yoke of circumstances; it obeyed or withstood decrees according as they favoured or thwarted its views; in its representations to the Legislative Body it used imperious and irritating language; it affected power, and knew not either how to enjoy its triumphs or to cause them to be forgiven.

"Pains had been successfully taken to persuade some, that so long as the revolutionary state lasted, power had reverted to its source, that the National Assembly was without character, that its existence was precarious, and that the communal assemblies were the only legal depositaries of authority.

"To others it had been insinuated that the leaders of opinion in the National Assembly entertained perfidious designs, and intended to overthrow liberty, and to deliver the republic into the hands of foreigners.

"Hence a great number of members of the council conceived that they were exercising a legitimate right when they usurped authority, that they were resisting oppression when they opposed the law, and that they were performing an act of civism when they were violating their

duties as citizens; nevertheless amidst this anarchy the commune from time to time passed salutary resolutions.

"I had been retained in my office; but it was now merely an empty title; I sought its functions to no purpose; they were dispersed among a thousand hands, and everybody exercised them.

"I went during the first days to the council. I was alarmed at the tumult which prevailed in that assembly, and still more at the spirit by which it was swayed. It was no longer an administrative body, deliberating on the communal affairs; it was a political assembly, deeming itself invested with full powers, discussing the great interests of the State, examining the laws enacted, and promulgating new ones; nothing was there talked of but plots against the public liberty; citizens were denounced; they were summoned to the bar, they were publicly examined, they were tried, they were dismissed, acquitted, or confined; the ordinary rules were set aside. Such was the agitation of the public mind, that it was impossible to control this torrent; all the deliberations were carried on with the impetuosity of enthusiasm; they followed one another with frightful rapidity; night and day there was no interruption; the council was continually sitting.

"I would not have my name attached to a multitude of acts so irregular, so contrary to sound principles.

"I was equally sensible how wise and how useful it would be not to approve, not to sanction by my presence, all that was done. Those members of the council who were afraid to see me there, who were annoyed at my attendance, strongly desired that the people, whose confidence I retained, should believe that I presided over its operations, and that nothing was done but in concert with me: my reserve on this point increased their enmity; but they durst not display it too openly, for fear of displeasing the people, whose favour they coveted.

"I rarely attended; and the conduct which I pursued in this very delicate situation between the old municipality, which complained of its removal, and the new one, which pretended to be legally instituted, was not unserviceable to the public tranquillity; for if I had then pronounced decisively for or against, I should have occasioned a rupture that might have been attended with most mischievous consequences. In everything there is a point of maturity which it is requisite to know how to seize.

"The administration was neglected; the mayor was no longer a centre of unity; all the threads that I held in my hands were cut; the power was dispersed; the action of superintendence was destitute of power; the restraining action was equally so.

"Robespierre assumed, then, the ascendancy in the council, and it could scarcely have been otherwise under the circumstances in which we were, and with the temper of his mind. I heard him deliver a speech which grieved me to the soul! the decree for opening the barriers was under discussion, and on this topic he launched out into extremely animated declamations, full of the extravagances of a gloomy imagination; he saw precipices beneath his feet, plots for the destruction of liberty; he pointed out the alleged conspirators; he addressed himself to the people, heated their minds, and produced in his hearers the strongest ferment.

"I replied to this speech for the purpose of restoring calmness, dispelling those dark illusions, and bringing back the discussion to the only point that ought to occupy the attention of the assembly.

"Robespierre and his partisans were thus hurrying the commune into inconsiderate proceedings—into extreme courses.

"I was not on this account suspicious of the intentions of Robespierre. I found more fault with his head than with his heart; but the consequences of these gloomy visions excited in me not the less apprehension.

"The tribunes of the council rang every day with violent invectives. The members could not persuade themselves that they were magistrates appointed to carry the laws into execution and to maintain order. They always considered themselves as forming a revolutionary association.

"The assembled sections received this influence, and communicated it in their turn, so that all Paris was at once in a ferment.

"The committee of surveillance of the commune filled the prisons. It cannot be denied that, if several of its arrests were just and necessary, others amounted to a stretch of the law. The chiefs were not so much to be blamed for this as their agents; the police had bad advisers; one man in particular, whose name has become a byword, whose name alone strikes terror into the souls of all peaceable citizens, seemed to have seized the direction of its movements. Assiduous in his attendance at all conferences, he interfered in all matters; he talked, he ordered, like a master. I complained loudly of this to the commune, and I concluded my opinion in these words: 'Marat is either the most wrong-headed or the most wicked of men.' From that day I have never mentioned him.

"Justice was slow in pronouncing upon the fate of the prisoners, and the prisons became more and more crowded. On the 23rd of August a section came in deputation to the council of the commune, and formally declared that the citizens, tired of and indignant at the delay of judgment, would break open the doors of those asylums, and sacrifice the culprits confined in them to their vengeance. . . . This petition, couched in the most furious language, met with no censure; nay, it received applause!

"On the 25th, from one thousand to twelve hundred armed citizens set out from Paris to remove the State prisoners confined at Orleans to other places.

"Disastrous intelligence arrived to increase still more the agitation of the public mind; the treason of Longwy became known, and some days afterwards the siege of Verdun.

"On the 27th the National Assembly invited the department of Paris, and those contiguous to it, to furnish thirty thousand armed men to be despatched to the frontiers. This decree excited a fresh sensation, which combined with that already prevailing.

"On the 31st the acquittal of Montmorin produced a popular commotion. It was rumoured that he had been saved through the perfidy of an emissary of the King, who had led the jurors into error.

"At the same moment a revelation of a plot made by a condemned person was published—a plot tending to effect the escape of all the prisoners, who were then to spread themselves through the city, to commit all sorts of excesses, and to carry off the King.

"Agitation was at its height. The commune, in order to excite the enthusiasm of the citizens, and to induce them to enrol themselves the more freely, had resolved that they should assemble with great parade in the Champ de Mars, amidst the discharge of cannon.

"The 2nd of September arrived. Oh, day of horror! The alarm-gun was fired, the tocsin rang. At this doleful and alarming sound a mob collected, broke into the prisons, murdering and slaughtering. Manuel and several deputies of the National Assembly repaired to those scenes of carnage. Their efforts were useless; the victims were sacrificed in

their very arms! I was meanwhile in a false security: I was ignorant of these cruelties; for some time past, nothing whatever had been communicated to me. At length I was informed of them; but how? In a vague, indirect, disfigured manner I was told at the same time that all was over. The most afflicting particulars afterwards reached me; but I felt thoroughly convinced that the day which had witnessed such atrocious scenes could never return. They nevertheless continued: I wrote to the commandant-general. I required him to despatch forces to the prisons. At first he gave me no answer. I wrote again. He told me that he had given his orders. Nothing indicated that those orders were attended to. Still they continued. I went to the council of the commune; thence I repaired to the hotel of La Force with several of my colleagues. The street leading to that prison was crowded with very peaceable citizens; a weak guard was at the door; I entered. . . . Never will the spectacle that I there beheld be effaced from my memory. I saw two municipal officers in their scarfs: I saw three men quietly seated at a table, with lists of the prisoners lying open before them; these were calling over the names of the prisoners. Other men were examining them, others performing the office of judges and jurors; a dozen executioners with bare arms, covered with blood, some with clubs, others with swords and cutlasses dripping with gore, were executing the sentences forthwith; citizens outside awaiting these sentences—with impatience observing the saddest silence at the decrees of death, and raising shouts of joy at those of acquittal.

“And the men who sat as judges, and those who acted as executioners, felt the same security as if the law had called them to perform those functions. They boasted to me of their justice, of their attention to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, of the services which they had rendered. They demanded—will it be believed—they demanded payment for the time they had been so employed! . . . I was really confounded to hear them!

“I addressed to them the austere language of the law. I spoke to them with the feeling of profound indignation with which I was penetrated. I made them all leave the place before me. No sooner had I gone myself than they returned; I went back to the places to drive them away; but in the night they completed their horrid butchery.

“Were these murders commanded—were they directed by any persons? I have had lists before me, I have received reports, and I have collected particulars. If I had to pronounce as judge, I could not say, This is the culprit.

“It is my opinion that those crimes would not have had such free scope, that they might have been stopped, if all those who had power in their hands and energy had viewed them with horror; but I will affirm, because it is true, that several of these public men, of these defenders of the country, conceived that those disastrous and disgraceful proceedings were necessary, that they purged the empire of dangerous persons, that they struck terror into the souls of the conspirators, and that these crimes, morally odious, were politically serviceable.

“Yes, this is what cooled the zeal of those to whom the law had committed the maintenance of order—of those to whom it had assigned the protection of persons and property.

“It is obvious how the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of September may be connected with the immortal 10th of August; how the former may be represented as a sequel to the revolutionary movement imparted on that day, the first in the annals of the republic; but I cannot bring

myself to confound glory with infamy, and to stain the 10th of August with the atrocities of the 2nd of September.

"The committee of surveillance actually issued an order for the arrest of Roland, the minister. This was on the 4th, and the massacres still continued. Danton was informed of it; he came to the *mairie*; he was with Robespierre; he warmly inveighed against this arbitrary, this mad act; it would have ruined, not Roland, but those who had decreed it. Danton obtained its revocation; it was buried in oblivion.

"I had an explanation with Robespierre; it was very warm. To his face I have never spared those reproaches which friendship has tempered in his absence. I said to him, 'Robespierre, you are doing a great deal of mischief. Your denunciations, your alarms, your animosities, your suspicions, agitate the people. But come, explain yourself. Have you facts? have you proofs? I am ready to meet you; I am attached to truth alone; I want but liberty.'

"'You suffer yourself to be surrounded, you suffer yourself to be prepossessed,' said he; 'you are biassed against me; you see my enemies every day; you see Brissot and his party.'

"'You are mistaken, Robespierre. No man is more on his guard than myself against prepossessions, or judges more coolly of men and things. I see Brissot, it is true, though very rarely; but you do not know him, whereas I have known him from a boy. I have seen him in those moments when the whole soul exhibits itself to view, when it abandons itself without reserve to friendship and confidence. I know his disinterestedness, I know his principles, and I protest to you that they are pure. Those who make a party leader of him have not the slightest idea of his character: he possesses intelligence and knowledge, but he has neither the reserve, nor the dissimulation, nor the insinuating manners, nor that spirit of sequence, which constitute a party leader; and what will surprise you is, that instead of leading others, he is very easily misled himself.'

"Robespierre persisted in his opinion, but confined himself to generalities. 'Do let us understand one another,' said I; 'tell me frankly what you have upon your mind, what you know.'

"'Well then,' he replied, 'I believe that Brissot is with Brunswick.'

"'What an egregious mistake!' I exclaimed: 'nay, it is truly insanity: that is the way in which your imagination misleads you: would not Brunswick be the first to cut off his head? Brissot is not silly enough to doubt it. Which of us seriously can capitulate? which of us does not risk his life? Let us banish unjust suspicions.'

"I return to the events of which I have given you a faint sketch. These events, and some of those which preceded the celebrated 10th of August, an attentive consideration of the facts and of a multitude of circumstances, have induced a belief that intriguers were striving to make a tool of the people, in order with the people to make themselves masters of the supreme authority. Robespierre has been openly named; his connections have been examined, his conduct analyzed; an expression, dropped, it is said, by one of his friends, has been caught up, and it has been inferred that Robespierre cherished the mad ambition of becoming the dictator of his country.

"The character of Robespierre accounts for his actions. Robespierre is extremely suspicious and distrustful. He everywhere perceives plots, treasons, precipices. His bilious temperament, his splenetic imagination, present all objects to him in gloomy colours. Imperious in his opinion, listening to none but himself, impatient of contradiction, never forgiving

any one who may have hurt his self-love, and never acknowledging himself in the wrong; denouncing on the slightest grounds, and irritating himself on the slightest suspicion, always conceiving that people are watching and designing to persecute him; boasting of himself, and talking without reserve of his services; an utter stranger to decorum, and thus injuring the cause which he defends; coveting above all things the favour of the people, continually paying court to them, and earnestly seeking their applause; it is this, it is, above all, this last weakness that, mixing itself up with all the acts of his public life, has induced a belief that Robespierre aspired to high destinies, and that he wanted to usurp the dictatorial power.

"For my part, I cannot persuade myself that this chimera has seriously engaged his thoughts, that it has been the object of his wishes and the aim of his ambition.

"He is nevertheless a man who has intoxicated himself with this fantastic notion, who has never ceased to call for a dictatorship in France as a blessing, as the only government that could save us from the anarchy that he preached, that could lead us to liberty and happiness! He solicited this tyrannical power, for whom? You would never believe it; you are not aware of the full extent of the delirium of his vanity: he solicited it for whom, yes, for whom, but Marat! If his folly were not ferocious, there would be nothing so ridiculous as that creature on whom nature seems purposely to have set the seal of reprobation."

X.

[Page 129.]

PACHE.

"Jean Nicolas Pache, war minister, and afterwards mayor of Paris, son of the Marshal de Castries's Swiss porter, received a liberal education, and at the time of the Revolution went to Paris, and eagerly embraced the new ideas. An air of modesty and disinterestedness, which seemed to exclude all ambition, gave him some weight with the revolutionary party. He connected himself with Brissot, and first began to work under the ministers, with a view of becoming one himself. In 1792 he succeeded Servan in the war department. Pache, having chosen his coadjutors from among persons new to office, who were anxious to figure in the Jacobin Society rather than to fulfil their duty, frequently gave cause of complaint. In 1793 he was made mayor of Paris, and appeared at the bar of the Convention, at the head of a deputation of the sections, to demand the expulsion of Brissot and others of the Gironde party. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he was accused by the Directory of various arbitrary acts, but contrived to escape prosecution, and quitting Paris in 1797, lived afterwards in retirement and obscurity."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"The peculation, or the profuse expenditure at least, that took place in the war department during Pache's administration was horrible. In the twenty-four hours that preceded his dismissal he filled up sixty different places with all the persons he knew of who were base enough to pay their court to him, down to his very hairdresser, a blackguard boy of nineteen, whom he made a muster-master."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs*.

Y.

[Page 131.]

GENERAL BEAULIEU.

"Baron de Beaulieu was an Austrian general of artillery. After having served in the Seven Years' War, he lived peaceably till 1789, the time of the revolt in Brabant. He there commanded a body of the shattered Austrian army, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and soon put an end to the war. In 1792 Beaulieu defeated a numerous French corps under General Biron, and forced them to draw back towards Valenciennes. In 1794 he commanded in the province of Luxembourg, and gained a battle near Arlon over a division of Jourdan's army. In 1796 he took the chief command of the army of Italy, but was constantly beaten by Bonaparte. The same year he quitted his command, and was succeeded by M. de Wurmser, who was still more unfortunate than he had been."—*Biographie Moderne*.

Z.

[Page 132.]

KING LOUIS PHILIPPE.

"Louis Philippe, eldest son of the Duc d'Orleans (Egalité) and of Marie Adelaide de Bourbon Penthièvre, grand-daughter of a natural son of Louis XIV. by Madame Montespan, was born at Paris in 1773. The line of Bourbon-Orleans was founded by Philippe, brother of the Grand Monarque, who conferred on him the duchy of Orleans. In 1782 the Duc de Chartres's education was entrusted to the Comtesse de Genlis. In 1792 he fought under Dumouriez at Valmy, and displayed great bravery and judgment. He also distinguished himself highly at the battle of Jemappes. Shortly afterwards, having frankly expressed his horror of the revolutionary excesses in France, a decree of arrest was issued against him. He then quitted the army and his country, and obtained passports for Switzerland, but received notice that no part of the cantons was safe for him. Alone, however, and on foot, and almost without money, he began his travels in the interior of Switzerland and the Alps, and at length obtained the situation of professor at the college of Reichenau, where he taught geography, history, the French and English languages, and mathematics, for four months, without having been discovered. It was here he learned the tragical end of his father. On quitting Reichenau, the Duc de Chartres, now become Duc d'Orleans, retired to Bremgarten, where he remained, under the name of Corby, till the end of 1794, when, his retreat being discovered, he resolved on going to America; but being unable to obtain the necessary pecuniary means, he travelled instead through Norway and Sweden, journeyed on foot with the Laplanders, and reached the North Cape in 1795. In the following year he set out for America, and paid

a visit to General Washington at Mount Vernon. He afterwards went to England, and established himself with his brothers at Twickenham. In 1809 the Duke was married at Palermo to the Princess Amelia, daughter of the King of Sicily. After the fall of Napoleon he returned to Paris, and in 1815 was ordered by Louis to take the command of the army of the North. He soon, however, resigned it, and fixed his residence, with his family, again at Twickenham. After the Hundred Days he went back to Paris, took his seat in the Chamber of Peers, but manifested such liberal sentiments as to render himself obnoxious to the administration. In consequence of the memorable events of July 1830, he was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and finally, on the abdication of Charles X., King of the French."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

AA.

[Page 133.]

GENERAL DAMPIERRE.

"Dampierre was an officer in the French guards, afterwards colonel of the 5th dragoon regiment, and finally a republican general. In 1792 he served under Dumouriez, and excited particular notice by his bravery at Jemappes. At the time of Dumouriez's defection he addressed a proclamation to the army of the North and of Ardennes, urging them to remain faithful to the Convention, for which he was appointed commander-in-chief. In 1793 he had his leg carried away by a cannon-ball while attacking the woods of Ruismes and St. Amand, and died two days afterwards. Dampierre was patronized by the Duc d'Orleans. His air was gloomy, and his make heavy; but he united to an extraordinary degree of vivacity the bravery of a soldier."—*Biographie Moderne*.

BB.

[Page 139.]

THE ABBÉ D'ESPAIGNAC.

"M. R. Sahuguet, Abbé d'Espagnac, was destined for the Church, and obtained a canonry in the metropolitan church of the capital. He first drew attention by his literary talents; but his love of money soon swallowed up every other consideration. He connected himself with Calonne, became his agent, and engaged in several lucrative speculations. He was one of the original members of the Jacobin Club. In 1791 he became a purveyor to the army of the Alps, and being denounced by Cambon for fraudulent dealings, was ordered to be arrested. He contrived to clear himself from this accusation, and speculated in the baggage waggons of Dumouriez's army. Being soon afterwards denounced as an accomplice and a dishonest purveyor, he was arrested in 1793, and in the following year sent to the guillotine by the revolutionary tribunal. At the time of his death d'Espagnac was forty-one years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*.

CC.

[Page 141.]

CAMBON.

"J. Cambon, a merchant, born of Protestant parents, eagerly embraced the cause of the Revolution. In the Legislative Assembly he devoted himself chiefly to finance; and to him is owing the formation of the Great Book of the public debt. In 1792 he caused assignats to be issued for thirty millions, and proposed that the statues of the tyrants in the capital should be converted into cannon. Cambon was the last president of the Legislative Assembly. In 1792 his influence obtained the famous decree which set bounds to the power of generals in a hostile country—a measure which removed Dumouriez's mask. In the following year he voted for the immediate death of the King. After the fall of Robespierre, Cambon directed the finance, but was outlawed soon afterwards, and was subsequently restored to liberty. He then went to live in obscurity at Montpellier.—*Biographie Moderne*.

DD.

[Page 146.]

RONSIN.

"Ronsin was born at Soissons in 1752. He figured in the early scenes of the Revolution, and in 1789 brought out a tragedy at one of the minor Paris theatres, which, though despicable in point of style, had a considerable run. Being denounced by Robespierre, he was guillotined in 1794. His dramatic pieces were collected and published after his death."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

EE.

[Page 146.]

CAMUS.

"A. G. Camus, deputy to the States-general, and to the National Convention, was counsel for the clergy at Paris at the period of the Revolution. In 1792 he was deputed to go into Holland to inquire into the truth of the complaints brought by Dumouriez against the war minister and the commissioners of the treasury, when he obtained the adoption of plans to improve the commissariat department. In the following year he voted for the King's death. Being appointed one of five commissioners to arrest Dumouriez, he was anticipated by that general, who delivered up him and his colleagues to the Austrians. He was, however, soon afterwards exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. Camus died at Paris of an apoplectic attack in 1804."—*Biographie Moderne*.

FF.

[Page 146.]

LACROIX.

"Lacroix, who was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal in 1794, was originally a country lawyer; in two or three months he became a colonel and a major-general, acquired wealth, was the accomplice of Danton, long held a secret correspondence with Dumouriez, whom he pretended to denounce; favoured the tribunes and the tumults of the sections; was one of the opposers of the Convention by caressing the anarchical commune, and defending it with his stentorian voice."—*Mercier's Nouveau Paris*.

GG.

[Page 152.]

MONGE.

"Gaspard Monge was a member of the Academy of Sciences, and afterwards of the French Institute. In 1793, acting as war minister for Servan, he signed the order for the execution of Louis. In the following year he was made secretary and president of the Jacobin Club. Having attached himself to the fortunes of Bonaparte, he was appointed in 1804 to the situation of grand officer of the Legion of Honour. Monge was the author of several scientific works."—*Biographie Moderne*.

III.

[Page 163.]

ANTOINE ST. JUST.

"St. Just was austere in manners, like Robespierre, but more enthusiastic; and the image of a thousand religious or political fanatics, who, being of a gloomy temperament, and full of visionary aspirations, think that good is always to be worked out of evil, and are ready to sacrifice themselves and the whole world to any scheme they have set their minds upon. St. Just was nicknamed the Apocalyptic."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*.

"St. Just exhibited the true features of gloomy fanaticism; a regular visage, dark and lank hair, a penetrating and severe look, a melancholy expression of countenance, revived the image of those desperate Scottish enthusiasts of whom modern genius has drawn so graphic a picture. Simple and unostentatious in his habits, austere in private, and indefatigable in public, St. Just was the most resolute, because the most sincere, of the Decenvirs. Enthusiastic in his passion for the multitude, he disclaimed to imitate its vices, or pander to its desires. Steeled against every sentiment of pity, he demanded the execution of victims in the same manner as the supply of armies."—*Alison*.

II.

[Page 167.]

FAUCHET.

"Clement Fauchet, a priest, born at Dorne, embraced the principles of the Revolution with eagerness, and distinguished himself at the taking of the Bastille, where he appeared at the head of the assailants with a sabre in his hand. At the time of Louis's trial he declared that he had indeed deserved death, but that nevertheless he ought to be saved. Fauchet was condemned to death as a Girondin, in his forty-ninth year."—*Biographie Moderne*.

JJ.

[Page 173.]

THE CONVENTION.

Here is the picture of the two sides of the Convention, drawn by Garat, the acutest observer we have had of the actors in the Revolution:—

"To this side of the Convention almost all the men of whom I have been just speaking belonged: I could never discover in them any other spirit than that which I had known in them. There I saw then both that republicanism of sentiment which does not consent to obey any man, unless that man speaks *in the name* of the nation, and *as* the law itself, and that much more rare republicanism of thought, which has taken to pieces and put together again all the springs of the organization of a society of men, alike in rights as in nature; which has found out by what happy and profound contrivance it is possible to associate in a great republic what appears inassociable—equality and submission to the magistrates, the agitation fertile in minds and souls, and a constant, immutable order; a government whose power shall always be absolute over individuals and over the multitude, and always submissive to the nation; an executive power whose show and forms of useful splendour shall always awaken ideas of the splendour of the republic, and newer ideas of the greatness of a person.

"On this same side I beheld seated the men best acquainted with those doctrines of political economy which teach how to open and to enlarge all the channels of private and of national wealth; how to combine the public revenue with the precise portions due to it from the fortune of every citizen; how to create new sources and new rivers for private fortunes by a good use of what they have poured into the coffers of the republic; how to protect and to leave unshackled all the branches of industry without favouring any; how to regard great properties, not as those sterile lakes which absorb and retain all the waters poured by the mountains into their bosom, but as reservoirs necessary for multiplying and cherishing the germs of universal fecundity, for the purpose of diffusing them farther and farther over all those places which would

otherwise be left dry and sterile—admirable doctrines, which introduced liberty into the arts and commerce before it existed in governments, but peculiarly adapted by their essence to the essence of republics, alone capable of giving a solid foundation to *equality*, not in a general *frugality* which is always violated, and which shackles desires much less than industry, but in a universal opulence, in those labours whose ingenious variety and continual revival can alone absorb, happily for liberty, that turbulent activity of democracies, which, after it had long agitated, at length swept away the ancient republics amidst the storms and tempests in which their atmosphere was constantly enveloped.

“On the right side there were five or six men whose genius was capable of conceiving those grand theories of social and of economic order, and a great number whose understandings could comprehend and diffuse them. On that side, too, were ranged a certain number of spirits, in times past extremely impetuous, extremely violent, but who, having run the entire round of their demagogic extravagances, aspired only to disavow and to combat the follies which they had propagated. There also sat, as the pious kneel at the foot of the altar, those men whom mild passions, a decent fortune, and an education which had not been neglected, disposed to honour with all the private virtues that republic which permitted them to enjoy their repose, their easy benevolence, and their happiness.

“On turning my eyes from this right side to the left, on casting them upon the Mountain, what a contrast struck me! There I saw a man agitating himself with all possible emotions, whose face, of a copper yellow hue, made him look as if he had issued from the bloodstained caves of cannibals, or from the scorching threshold of hell; a man whom, by his convulsive, abrupt, and unequal gait, you recognized as one of those murderers who had escaped from the executioner, but not from the furies, and who seem desirous of annihilating the human race, to spare themselves the dread which the sight of every man excites in them. Under despotism, which he had not covered with blood as he had liberty, this man had cherished the ambition of producing a revolution in the sciences; and he had attacked, in systems more daring than ingenious, the greatest discoveries of modern times and of the human mind. His eyes, roving through the history of ages, had dwelt upon the lives of four or five great exterminators who converted cities into deserts, for the purpose of re-peopling those deserts with a race formed in their own image or in that of tigers; this was all that he had retained of the annals of nations, all that he knew and that he cared to imitate. From an instinct resembling that of ravenous beasts rather than from any deep vein of perversity, he had perceived into how many follies and crimes it is possible to lead an immense people whose religious and political chains have just been broken. This is the idea which dictated all his writings, all his words, all his actions. And he fell but by the dagger of a woman! and more than fifteen thousand images of him were set up throughout the republic!

“Beside him were seated men who would not themselves have conceived such atrocities, but who, thrown along with him, by an act of extreme audacity, into events whose height turned them dizzy, and whose dangers made them shudder, while disavowing the maxims of the monster, had perhaps already followed them, and were not sorry that it should be feared that they could follow them still. They abhorred Marat, but they did not abhor making use of him. They placed him in their midst, they put him in their van, they bore him, as

it were, upon their breast, like a head of Medusa. As the horror of such a man was everywhere, you fancied that you perceived him everywhere; you almost imagined that he was the whole Mountain, or that the whole Mountain was, as it were, he. Among the leaders, in fact, there were several who found no other fault with the misdeeds of Marat but that they were too undisguised.

"But among these leaders—and here nothing but truth makes me differ in opinion from many worthy men—among these leaders themselves were a great number of persons who, connected with others by events much more than by their sentiments, turned their eyes and their regrets towards wisdom and humanity; who would have had many virtues, and might have rendered many services at the moment when they should have begun to be thought capable of them. To the Mountain repaired, as to military posts, those who had much passion for liberty and little theory; those who deemed equality threatened or even violated by grandeur of ideas and elegance of language; those who, elected in hamlets and in workshops, could not recognize a republican in any other costume than that which they wore themselves; those who, entering for the first time upon the career of the Revolution, had to signalize that impetuosity and that violence in which the glory of almost all the great Revolutionists began; those who, still young and better qualified to serve the republic in the field than in the sanctuary of the laws, having seen the republic start into existence amid the crash of thunder, conceived that it was with the crash of thunder that it ought to maintain itself and promulgate its decrees. On this side also several of those deputies sought an asylum rather than a seat, who, having been brought up in the proscribed castes of the nobility and the priesthood, though always pure, were always liable to suspicions, and fled to the top of the Mountain from the charge of not attaining the height of principles. Thither repaired to feed their suspicions and to live among phantoms those austere and melancholy characters who, having too frequently seen falsehood united with politeness, believe in virtue only when it is gloomy, and in liberty when it is wild. There ranged themselves some of those minds who had borrowed from the exact sciences stiffness at the same time with rectitude, who, proud of possessing knowledge immediately applicable to the mechanical arts, were glad to separate themselves by their place as well as by their disdain from those scholars, those philosophers, whose acquirements are not so promptly beneficial to the weaver or to the smith, and do not reach individuals until they have enlightened society in general. There, lastly, those liked to vote, whatever might be in other respects their sentiments and their talents, who, from the springs of their character being too tightly wound up, were disposed to go beyond rather than to fall short of the limit that it was necessary to set to revolutionary energy and enthusiasm.

"Such was the idea which I formed of the *elements* of the two sides of the National Convention.

"To judge of each side from the majority of its elements, both appeared to me capable of rendering, in different ways and degrees, great services to the republic: the right side for organizing the interior with wisdom and grandeur; the left, for infusing from their own souls into the souls of all Frenchmen those republican and popular passions so necessary to a nation assailed on all sides by the league of kings and the soldiery of Europe."

KK.

[Page 174.]

ST. ANDRÉ.

"Jean Bon St. André, a Protestant minister, and deputy to the Convention, declared against an appeal to the people on the King's trial, and voted for his death. He was one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety during the reign of the Mountain, and took possession of the marine department. Being despatched on a mission to Brest, he filled the prisons, put the public authorities into the hands of the Jacobins, admitted all the galley-slaves to depose against the soldiers and the citizens, and caused the erection of two permanent guillotines. He also converted two of the churches into temples of Reason. He was afterwards present, in the French fleet, at the celebrated battle of the 1st of June, in which Lord Howe was victorious; and being slightly wounded, withdrew into a frigate, where he remained in the hold to have his wound dressed. In the time of the consulate St. André was made prefect of the department of Mont Tonnerre."—*Biographie Moderne*.

LL.

[Page 176.]

REWBEL.

"Rewbel, born at Colmar in 1746, chief of the barristers in the supreme council of Alsace, was long the agent of several German princes who had possessions in Alsace, and afterwards undertook different causes against them, which at the time of the Revolution he represented as a mark of patriotism. In 1791 he presided in the National Assembly, and next to Robespierre, was the member who most plainly showed his desire for a republic. In the following year he earnestly pressed the King's trial, and demanded that the Queen should be included in the same decree of accusation. Rewbel took care to keep in the background during the stormiest period of Robespierre's reign, and after his fall declared loudly against the Jacobins. He was a violent man, and terminated his legislative career at the overthrow of the Directory, under which his eldest son was adjutant-general."—*Biographie Moderne*.

MM.

[Page 182.]

TALLIEN.

"Jean Lambert Tallien, son to the porter of a nobleman, became afterwards an attorney's clerk, and lastly, corrector of the press in the *Moniteur* office. On the 10th of August 1792 he was named secretary-

general for the commune, and from that time began to play a conspicuous part in the Revolution. He warmly urged the trial of Louis XVI., and opposed the granting him counsel. During the year 1793 he was out on missions, and everywhere conducted himself like a zealous partisan of revolutionary measures. Love, however, appeared all at once to change his character. Madame de Fontenai, whose maiden name was Cabarrus, had come to Bordeaux in order to embark for Spain, whither she was going to rejoin her husband; she was imprisoned, and fearing to increase the number of victims, she, in order to save her life, flattered the violent passion with which she had inspired Tallien, who, from that time entirely given up to luxury and pleasure, not only ceased to persecute, but in 1794 dissolved the military and revolutionary tribunals in Bordeaux. In the same year he was one of those who materially assisted in bringing Robespierre to the scaffold. In 1806 Tallien was commissioner of the Board of Trade at Alicant."—*Biographie Moderne*.

NN.

[Page 183.]

MALESHERBES.

"Christian William de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, an eminent French statesman, was the son of the chancellor of France, and was born at Paris in 1721. In the year 1750 he succeeded his father as president of the Court of Aids, and was also made superintendent of the press, in both which offices he displayed a liberal and enlightened policy. On the banishment of the parliaments and the suppression of the Court of Aids, Malesherbes was exiled to his country-seat. In 1775 he was appointed minister of State. He took no part in the proceedings which led to the overthrow of the monarchy; but on the decree of the Convention for the King's trial he emerged from his retreat to become the voluntary advocate of his sovereign. Malesherbes was guillotined in 1794, and almost his whole family were extirpated by their merciless persecutors."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

OO.

[Page 185.]

MARAT AND ROBESPIERRE.

Among the singular opinions expressed concerning Marat and Robespierre must not be omitted that which was put forth by the society of the Jacobins, at their sitting of Sunday, December 23, 1792. I know nothing that furnishes a better picture of the spirit and dispositions of the moment than the discussion which took place relative to the character of those two persons. Here follows an extract from it:—

"Desfieux read the correspondence. A letter from a society, whose name has escaped us, gave rise to a warm discussion, which cannot fail to suggest some very important reflections. This society informed the mother society that it was invariably attached to the principles of the

Jacobins; it observed that it had not suffered itself to be blinded by the calumnies circulated so profusely against Marat and Robespierre, and that it retained all its esteem and all its veneration for those two incorruptible friends of the people.

"This letter was loudly applauded; but it was followed by a discussion which Brissot and Gorsas, who are most assuredly prophets, had predicted on the preceding day.

"*Robert.* 'It is very astonishing that the names of Marat and Robespierre are always coupled together. How corrupt the public mind must be in the departments, since no difference is made between these two defenders of the people! Both possess virtues, it is true. Marat is a patriot; he has estimable qualities, I admit; but how different is he from Robespierre! The latter is discreet, moderate in his means; whereas Marat is exaggerated, and has not that discretion which characterizes Robespierre. It is not sufficient to be a patriot; in order to serve the people usefully, it is necessary to be reserved in the means of execution, and most assuredly Robespierre surpasses Marat in the means of execution.

"'It is high time, citizens, to tear off the veil which hides the truth from the eyes of the departments. It is high time that they should know that we can distinguish between Robespierre and Marat. Let us write to the affiliated societies what we think of those two citizens; for I confess I am a staunch partisan of Robespierre, and yet I am not a partisan of Marat.' (*Murmurs in the tribunes and in part of the hall.*)

"*Bourdon.* 'We ought long since to have acquainted the affiliated societies with our opinion of Marat. How could they ever connect Marat and Robespierre together! Robespierre is a truly virtuous man, with whom we have no fault to find from the commencement of the Revolution. Robespierre is moderate in his means; whereas Marat is a violent writer, who does great harm to the Jacobins (*murmurs*); and besides, it is right to observe that Marat does us great injury with the National Convention. The deputies imagine that we are partisans of Marat; we are called Maratists. If we show that we duly appreciate Marat, then you will see the deputies draw nearer to the Mountain where we sit, you will see them come into the bosom of this society; you will see the affiliated societies that have gone astray, return and rally anew around the cradle of liberty. If Marat is a patriot, he must accede to the motion that I am going to make. Marat ought to sacrifice himself to the cause of liberty. I move that his name be erased from the list of the members of this society.'

"This motion excited some applause, violent murmurs in part of the hall, and vehement agitation in the tribunes.

"It will be recollected that a week before this scene of a new kind, Marat had been covered with applause in the society; the population of the tribunes, which has a memory, recollected this circumstance perfectly well; it could not conceive that so speedy a change had been wrought in opinions; and as the moral instinct of the people is always just, it was highly indignant at the motion of Bourdon: the people therefore defended their *virtuous friend*; they did not imagine that in a week he could have forfeited his claim to the regard of the society; for though it may be said that ingratitude is a virtue of republics, it will be very difficult to accustom the French people to this kind of virtue.

"The coupling of the names of Marat and Robespierre was not revolting to the people. Their ears had long been accustomed to their being so united in the correspondence; and after witnessing the indignation

of the society on several occasions when the clubs of the other departments demanded the expulsion of Marat, they did not deem it right on this day to support the motion of Bourdon.

"A citizen of an affiliated society pointed out to the society how dangerous it was, in fact, to join together the names of Marat and Robespierre. 'In the departments,' said he, 'a great difference is made between Marat and Robespierre; but they are surprised at the silence of the society concerning the differences which exist between those two patriots. I propose to the society, after it has decided the fate of Marat, to make no further mention of affiliation—a word that ought never to be uttered in a republic—but to employ the term *fraternization*.'

"*Dufourry*. 'I oppose the motion for expelling Marat from the society. (*Veheement applause.*) I will not deny the difference that exists between Marat and Robespierre. These two writers, who may resemble one another in patriotism, have very striking differences. They have both served the cause of the people, but in different ways. Robespierre has defended the true principles with method, with firmness, and with all becoming discretion; Marat, on the contrary, has frequently passed the bounds of sound reason and prudence. Still, though admitting the difference that exists between Marat and Robespierre, I am not in favour of the erasure: it is possible to be just without being ungrateful to Marat. Marat has been useful to us; he has served the Revolution with courage. (*Veheement applause from the society and the tribunes.*) There would be ingratitude in striking him out of the list. (*Yes, yes, from all quarters.*) Marat has been a necessary man. Revolutions have need of strong heads, capable of uniting States; and Marat is one of those rare men who are necessary for the overthrow of despotism. (*Applause.*) I conclude with proposing that the motion of Bourdon be rejected, and that merely a letter be written to the affiliated societies to acquaint them with the difference that we make between Marat and Robespierre.' (*Applause.*)

"The society resolved that it will cease to use the term affiliation, deeming it offensive to republican equality, and substitute the word fraternization in its stead. The society then resolved that Marat shall not be erased from the list of its members, but that a circular shall be sent to all the societies having the right of fraternization, in which shall be detailed the resemblances and the differences, the conformities and the difformities, which may be found between Marat and Robespierre, that all those who fraternize with the Jacobins may be able to pronounce, with a thorough knowledge of circumstances, respecting those two defenders of the people, and that they may at length learn to separate two names which they invariably but erroneously couple together."

. PP.

[Page 189.]

DESÈZE.

"Raymond Desèze was of an ancient family. His father was a celebrated parliamentary advocate at Bordeaux, in which town Raymond was born in 1750. He displayed uncommon talents in the legal pro-

fession, and was entrusted with the defence of Louis XVI., which was considered a masterpiece. He survived the Reign of Terror, and refused all office under Napoleon. On the return of the Bourbons he was appointed first president of the Court of Cassation, and grand treasurer of the royal order. He was afterwards made a peer of France. Desèze died at Paris in 1828."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

QQ.

[Page 193.]

LANJUINAIS.

"J. D. Lanjuinais, an advocate and professor of civil law, was one of the original founders of the Breton Club, which afterwards became the Jacobin Society. In 1792 he was deputed to the Convention; but in proportion to the increasing horrors of the Revolution, he became more moderate in his principles. On the King's trial he declared that his Majesty was guilty, and voted for his imprisonment, and his exile when a peace should take place. In 1794 the Convention outlawed him; but having evaded all research, he solicited to be reinstated in the Legislative Body, and was recalled in 1795. In the year 1800 Lanjuinais became a member of the conservative Senate, and showed himself on several occasions the inflexible defender of the true principles of morality and justice."—*Biographie Moderne*.

RR.

[Page 196.]

SALLES.

"J. B. Salles, a physician at Vezelise, was a man of an enlightened mind and acute penetration, and showed himself a warm partisan of the Revolution. After the overthrow of monarchy on the 10th of August he was appointed deputy to the National Convention, and became one of the founders of the republic. In this Assembly he voted for the confinement of Louis XVI., and his banishment on the conclusion of peace. In 1793 he boldly denounced Marat as exciting the people to murder and pillage, and as having solicited them, especially in his journal, to hang monopolizers at the doors of their magazines. Being outlawed by the Jacobin faction, Salles wandered for a long time from asylum to asylum, and from cavern to cavern, but was at length seized at the house of Guadet's father, tried at Bordeaux, and executed in 1794. Salles was thirty-four years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*.

SS.

[Page 197.]

ST. ETIENNE.

"J. P. Rabaut St. Etienne, a lawyer, a man of letters, and a minister of the reformed religion, was an ardent convert to the Revolution, and a sworn enemy to the Catholic clergy. He was one of those whose sectarian spirit added greatly to the revolutionary enthusiasm. When, however, he had only monarchy to contend against, he became more moderate. On the occasion of the King's trial he forcibly combated the opinion of those who desired that the Convention should itself try Louis. At the time of the nominal appeal concerning the punishment to be inflicted on the King, St. Etienne voted for his confinement, and his banishment in the event of a peace, as well as for the appeal to the people to confirm the sentence. In 1793 he was president of the National Convention; but opposing the Terrorist party, a decree of outlawry was passed against him, and he was executed at Paris, having been delivered up by an old friend, of whom he went to beg an asylum. Rabaut St. Etienne was fifty years of age, and a native of Nîmes. He was the author of 'Letters on the Primitive History of Greece,' and of an 'Historic Summary of the French Revolution.' He also assisted in editing the *Moniteur*."—*Biographie Moderne*.

TT.

[Page 207.]

MAILHE.

"Jean Mailhe was a lawyer and attorney syndic of Upper Garonne, whence he was deputed to the Legislature. At the time of the King's trial he voted for death, but moved an amendment to the effect that execution should be delayed. Having escaped the proscriptions of the Reign of Terror, he was in 1800 appointed by the consuls secretary-general to the prefecture of the Upper Pyrenees."—*Biographie Moderne*.

UU.

[Page 211.]

MERLIN OF DOUAI.

"Merlin always pursued a revolutionary career, and never departed from his principles, never accepted a commission to pillage or slay in the departments, and, devoted to the fatigue of incessant labour, never manifested undue ambition. He wanted, perhaps, the courage and firmness necessary to a true statesman: but he had some qualities which

are desirable in a minister: more remarkable for address than vigour, he succeeded in all he attempted, by patience, attention, and that persevering spirit which is not character, but which frequently supplies its place."—*Carnot's Memoirs*.

VV.

[Page 212.]

THE COMTE DE KERSAINT.

"Comte de A. G. S. Kersaint was a captain in the royal navy, and at the period of the Revolution attached himself to the Girondins. On the King's trial, when sentence of death had been pronounced, in opposition to his vote for imprisonment till the peace, Kersaint sent in his resignation as member of the Convention. In 1793 he was guillotined by the Jacobin faction. He was born in Paris, was a man of good natural abilities and of moderate principles, and at the time of his death was fifty-two years old."—*Biographie Moderne*.

WW.

[Page 214.]

THE KING'S CONFESSOR.

"Henry Essex Edgeworth de Firmont, father-confessor of Louis XVI., was born in Ireland in 1745, in the village of Edgeworthstown. His father, an episcopalian clergyman, adopted the Catholic faith with his family, and went to France. His piety and good conduct obtained him the confidence of the Princesse Elizabeth, who chose him for her confessor, and made him known to Louis, who, after his condemnation, sent for him to attend him in his last moments. M. Edgeworth accompanied the King to the place of execution; and having succeeded in escaping from France, arrived in England in 1796. Pitt offered him a pension, which he declined. He soon after followed Louis XVIII. to Blankenburg, in Brunswick, and thence to Mittau. M. Edgeworth died, in 1807, of a contagious fever, caught in attending to some sick French emigrants. The Duchesse d'Angoulême waited on him in his last moments; the royal family followed him to the tomb; and Louis XVIII. wrote his epitaph."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

XX.

[Page 215.]

THE KING'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH HIS FAMILY.

"At eight o'clock the King came out of his closet, and desired the municipal officers to conduct him to his family. They replied, that could not be, but his family should be brought down if he desired it. 'Be it so,' said his Majesty; and accordingly at half-past eight the

door opened, and his wife and children made their appearance. They all threw themselves into the arms of the King. A melancholy silence prevailed for some minutes, only broken by sighs and sobs. The Queen made an inclination towards his Majesty's chamber. 'No,' said the King, 'we must go into this room; I can only see you there.' They went in, and I shut the glass door. The King sat down; the Queen was on his left hand; Madame Elizabeth on his right; Madame Royale nearly opposite; and the young Prince stood between his legs. All were leaning on the King, and often pressed him to their arms. This scene of sorrow lasted an hour and three-quarters, during which it was impossible to hear anything. It could, however, be seen that after every sentence uttered by the King the agitation of the Queen and Princesses increased, lasted some minutes, and then the King began to speak again. It was plain from their gestures that they received from himself the first intelligence of his condemnation. At a quarter-past ten the King rose first: they all followed. I opened the door. The Queen held the King by his right arm; their Majesties gave each a hand to the Dauphin. Madame Royale, on the King's left, had her arms round his body; and behind her Madame Elizabeth, on the same side, had taken his arm. They advanced some steps towards the entry door, breaking out into the most agonizing lamentations. 'I assure you,' said the King, 'that I will see you again to-morrow morning at eight o'clock.' 'You promise,' said they all together. 'Yes, I promise.' Why not at seven o'clock? asked the Queen. 'Well, yes, at seven,' replied the King. 'Farewell!' He pronounced farewell in so impressive a manner that their sobs were renewed, and Madame Royale fainted at the feet of the King, round whom she had clung. His Majesty, willing to put an end to this agonizing scene, once more embraced them all most tenderly, and had the resolution to tear himself from their arms. 'Farewell! farewell!' said he, and went into his chamber. The Queen, Princesses, and Dauphin returned to their own apartments; and though both the doors were shut, their screams and lamentations were heard for some time on the stairs. The King went back to his confessor in the turret closet."—*Cléry*.

YY.

[Page 216.]

LEPELLETIER ST. FARGEAU.

"L. M. de Lepelletier St. Fargeau, president of the parliament of Paris, was deputed by the nobility of that city to the States-general. He possessed an immense fortune, and was noted before the Revolution for very loose morals, but at the same time for a gentle disposition. In 1790 he declared in favour of the abolition of honorary titles, and filled the president's chair of the Assembly. In 1792 he was appointed secretary to the Convention, and on the occasion of the King's trial voted for his death. He was assassinated four days after at the Palais Royal, in the house of the cook Fevrier, where he was going to dine. He immediately expired, having barely time to pronounce these words, 'I am cold!' Lepelletier was born at Paris in the year 1760."—*Biographie Moderne*.

ZZ.

[Page 216.]

THE MORNING OF THE EXECUTION.

"On hearing five o'clock strike, I began to light the fire. The noise I made awoke the King, who, drawing his curtains, asked if it had struck five. I said it had by several clocks, but not yet by that in the apartment. Having finished with the fire, I went to his bedside. 'I have slept soundly,' said his Majesty, 'and I stood in need of it; yesterday was a trying day to me. Where is M. Edgeworth?' I answered, 'On my bed.' 'And where were you all night?' 'On this chair.' 'I am sorry for it,' said the King, and gave me his hand, at the same time tenderly pressing mine. I then dressed his Majesty, who, as soon as he was dressed, bade me go and call M. Edgeworth, whom I found already risen, and he immediately attended the King to the turret. Meanwhile I placed a chest of drawers in the middle of the chamber, and arranged it in the form of an altar for saying mass. The necessary articles of dress had been brought at two o'clock in the morning. The priest's garments I carried into my chamber, and when everything was ready I went and informed his Majesty. He had a book in his hand, which he opened, and finding the place of the mass, gave it me; he then took another book for himself. The priest meanwhile was dressing. Before the altar I had placed an arm-chair for his Majesty, with a large cushion on the ground: the cushion he desired me to take away, and went himself to his closet for a smaller one, made of hair, which he commonly used at his prayers. When the priest came in, the municipal officers retired into the ante-chamber, and I shut one fold of the door. The mass began at six o'clock. There was profound silence during the awful ceremony. The King, all the time on his knees, heard mass with the most devout attention, and received the communion. After the service he withdrew to his closet, and the priest went into my chamber to put off his official attire."—*Clergy*.

AAA.

[Page 218.]

LOUIS CONDUCTED TO THE SCAFFOLD.

"All the troops in Paris had been under arms from five o'clock in the morning. The beat of drums, the sound of trumpets, the clash of arms, the trampling of horses, the removal of cannon which were incessantly carried from one place to another—all resounded in the tower. At half-past eight o'clock the noise increased; the doors were thrown open with great clatter; and Santerre, accompanied by seven or eight municipal officers, entered at the head of ten soldiers, and drew them up in two lines. At this movement the King came out of his closet, and said to

Santerre, 'You are come for me?' 'Yes,' was the answer. 'Wait a moment,' said his Majesty, and went into his closet, whence he instantly returned, followed by his confessor. I was standing behind the King, near the fireplace. He turned round to me, and I offered him his great-coat. 'I shall not want it,' said he; 'give me only my hat.' I presented it to him, and his hand met mine, which he pressed for the last time. His Majesty then looked at Santerre and said, 'Lead on.' These were the last words he spoke in his apartments."—*Cléry*.

BBB.

[Page 218.]

THE KING'S LAST MOMENTS.

"On quitting the tower, the King crossed the first court, formerly the garden, on foot; he turned back once or twice towards the tower as if to bid adieu to all most dear to him on earth; and by his gestures it was plain that he was trying to collect all his strength and firmness. At the entrance of the second court a carriage waited; two gendarmes held the door: at the King's approach one of these men entered first, and placed himself in front; his Majesty followed, and placed me by his side, at the back of the carriage; the other gendarme jumped in last, and shut the door. The procession lasted almost two hours; the streets were lined with citizens, all armed; and the carriage was surrounded by a body of troops, formed of the most desperate people of Paris. As soon as the King perceived that the carriage stopped, he turned and whispered to me, 'We have arrived, if I mistake not.' My silence answered that we had. On quitting the vehicle, three guards surrounded his Majesty, and would have taken off his clothes; but he repulsed them with haughtiness; he undressed himself, untied his neckcloth, opened his shirt, and arranged it himself. The path leading to the scaffold was extremely rough and difficult to pass; the King was obliged to lean on my arm, and from the slowness with which he proceeded I feared for a moment that his courage might fail; but what was my astonishment, when, arrived at the last step, I felt that he suddenly let go my arm, and I saw him cross with a firm foot the breadth of the whole scaffold; silence, by his look alone, fifteen or twenty drums that were placed opposite to him; and heard him pronounce distinctly in a loud voice these memorable words: 'I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God that the blood you are now going to shed may never be visited on France.' He was proceeding, when a man on horseback, in the national uniform, waved his sword, and ordered the drums to beat. Many voices were at the same time heard encouraging the executioners, who immediately seized the King with violence, and dragged him under the axe of the guillotine, which with one stroke severed his head from his body."—*Abbé Edgeworth*.

CCC.

[Page 218.]

THE KING'S EXECUTIONERS.

The executioners who officiated on this occasion were brothers, named Samson, of one of whom Mercier thus speaks in his *Nouveau Tableau de Paris*: "What a man is that Samson! Insensible to suffering, he has always been identified with the axe of execution. He has beheaded the most powerful monarch in Europe, his Queen, Couthon, Brissot, Robespierre—and all this with a composed countenance! He cuts off the head that is brought to him, no matter whose. What does he say? What does he think? I should like to know what passes in his head, and whether he considers his terrible functions only as a trade. The more I meditate on this man, the president of the great massacre of the human species, overthrowing crowned heads like that of the purest republican, without moving a muscle, the more my ideas are confounded. How did he sleep after receiving the last words, the last looks, of all those severed heads? I really would give a trifle to be in the soul of this man for a few hours. He sleeps, it is said, and very likely his conscience may be at perfect rest. The guillotine has respected him, as making one body with itself. He is sometimes present at the Vaudeville. He laughs—looks at me—my head has escaped him—he knows nothing about it; and as that is very indifferent to him, I never grow weary of contemplating in him the indifference with which he has sent a crowd of men to the other world."

DDD.

[Page 219.]

THE GRAVE OF LOUIS XVI.

"The body of Louis was removed immediately after the execution into the ancient cemetery of the Madeleine. Large quantities of quicklime were thrown into the grave, which occasioned so rapid a decomposition that when his remains were sought after in 1815 it was with great difficulty that any part could be recovered. Over the spot where he was interred, Napoleon commenced the splendid Temple of Glory after the battle of Jena; and the superb edifice was completed by the Bourbons, and now forms the Church of the Madeleine, the most beautiful of the many beautiful structures in Paris. Louis was executed on the same ground where the Queen, the Princesse Elizabeth, and so many other noble victims of the Revolution perished; where Robespierre and Danton afterwards suffered; and where the Emperor Alexander and the allied sovereigns took their station when their victorious troops entered Paris in 1814! The history of modern Europe has not a scene fraught with equally interesting recollections to exhibit. It is now marked by the colossal obelisk of blood-red granite which was brought from Thebes, in Upper Egypt, in 1833, by the French government."—*Alison*.

EEE.

[Page 222.]

THE EMPRESS CATHERINE.

"Catherine the Second, Empress of Russia, was born at Stettin in 1729, where her father, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, and Prussian field-marshal, was governor. The Empress Elizabeth chose her for the wife of her nephew, Peter, whom she appointed her successor. The marriage was celebrated in 1745. It was not a happy one; but Catherine consoled herself by a variety of lovers. Among others, a young Pole, Stanislaus Poniatowski, gained her affections, and by her influence was appointed by the King of Poland his ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg. In 1761 the Empress Elizabeth died, and Peter III. ascended the throne. He now became more than ever estranged from his wife Catherine, which led to a conspiracy headed by Gregory Orloff, her favourite; and the result of which was the death of Peter in prison. In 1774 the Empress concluded an advantageous peace with the Porte, by which she secured the free navigation of the Black Sea. At this time Potemkin was Catherine's chief favourite, who in 1784 conquered the Crimea, and extended the confines of Russia to the Caucasus. In 1787 the Empress's memorable triumphal journey to Tauris took place, when throughout a distance of nearly a thousand leagues nothing but feasts and spectacles of various kinds was to be seen. Palaces were raised on barren heaths, to be inhabited only for a day, and Catherine was surrounded by a multitude of people, who were sent forward during the night to afford her the same spectacle the following day. When in 1791 Poland wished to change its constitution, the Empress took part with the opponents of the plan, garrisoned the country with her troops, and concluded a new treaty of partition with the Cabinet of Berlin in 1792. About this time Catherine broke off all connection with the French republic, assisted the emigrants, and entered into an alliance with England against France. She died of apoplexy in 1796. With all the weakness of her sex, and with a love of pleasure carried to licentiousness, she combined the firmness and talent becoming a powerful sovereign. She favoured distinguished authors, and affected great partiality for the French philosophers."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

FFF.

[Page 223.]

BURKE.

"However the arguments of Burke may seem to have been justified by posterior events, it yet remains to be shown that the war-cry then raised against France did not greatly contribute to the violence which characterized that period. It is possible that, had he merely roused the attention of the governments and wealthy classes to the dangers of this new political creed, he might have proved the saviour of Europe: but he made such exaggerated statements, and used arguments so alarming

to freedom, that on many points he was not only plausibly but victoriously refuted.”—*Dumont*.

“There was something exaggerated at all times in the character as well as the eloquence of Burke; and upon reading at this distance of time his celebrated composition, it must be confessed that the colours he has used in painting the extravagances of the Revolution ought to have been softened, by considering the peculiar state of a country which, long labouring under despotism, is suddenly restored to the possession of unembarrassed licence. On the other hand, no political prophet ever viewed futurity with a surer ken.”—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

“Mr. Burke, by his tropes and figures, so dazzled both the ignorant and the learned that they could not distinguish the shades between liberty and licentiousness, between anarchy and despotism. He gave a romantic and novel air to the whole question. A crazy, obsolete government was metamorphosed into an object of fancied awe and veneration, like a mouldering Gothic ruin which, however delightful to look at or read of, is not at all pleasant to live under. Mr. Pitt has been hailed by his flatterers as ‘the pilot that weathered the storm;’ but it was Burke who at this giddy, maddening period stood at the prow of the vessel of the State, and with his glittering pointed spear harpooned the Leviathan of the French Revolution.”—*Hazlitt*.

“On the second reading of the Alien Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Burke, in mentioning that an order for making three thousand daggers had arrived some time before at Birmingham, a few of which had been actually delivered, drew one from under his coat, and threw it indignantly on the floor: ‘*This*,’ said he, ‘is what you are to gain by an alliance with France! Wherever their principles are introduced, their practice must also follow.’ The speech which Mr. Burke made on this occasion was excellent; but the action which accompanied it was not in such good taste.”—*Prior's Life of Burke*.

GGG.

[Page 224.]

THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE.

Don Manuel de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, Prince of the Peace, and favourite of King Charles of Spain, was born in 1764 at Badajoz. He was distinguished by a tall, handsome figure, and excelled in most light accomplishments. He early entered the body-guard of the King, and became a favourite at Court, especially with the Queen. In 1792 he was made premier in the place of Aranda, and in 1795, as a reward for his pretended services in making peace with France, he was created Prince of the Peace, a grandee of the first class, and presented with an estate that secured him an income of fifty thousand dollars. He married, in 1797, Donna Maria Theresa of Bourbon, a daughter of the Infant Don Luis, brother of King Charles. In 1798 he resigned his post as premier, but was in the same year appointed general-in-chief of the Spanish forces. A decree in 1807 bestowed on him the title of Highness, and unlimited power over the whole monarchy. In the meantime the hatred of the people against the overbearing favourite was excited to the

highest degree; and he would have lost his life if the Prince of Asturias had not exerted himself to save him, at the instance of the King and Queen, on condition that he should be tried. The occurrences at Bayonne, however, intervened. Napoleon, who wished to employ the influence of the Prince of the Peace with King Charles, procured his release from prison, and summoned him to Bayonne, where he became the moving spring of everything done by the King and Queen of Spain. Since that time he lived in France, and later, in Rome, where he enjoyed the friendship of the King and Queen till the death of both in 1819, after which he returned to Paris."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

"The Prince of the Peace is one of those extraordinary characters who have obtained celebrity without any just grounds. I both saw and heard a great deal respecting him during my stay in Spain. One day on entering the audience chamber, where I had scarcely room to move, as the King and Queen were both standing very near the door, I beheld a man at the other end of the apartment whose attitude and bearing appeared to me particularly ill-suited to the audience chamber of royalty. He appeared to be thirty-four or thirty-five years of age, and his countenance was of that description which a fine, well-grown, hearty young man usually presents; but there was no trace of dignity in his appearance. He was covered with decorations and orders, and I might reasonably suppose, therefore, that he was an important personage. And I was not wrong: it was Godoy, Prince of the Peace! I was struck with surprise at his free and easy manner. He was leaning, or rather lying, on a *console* at the further end of the apartment, and was playing with a curtain tassel which was within his reach. At this period his favour at Court was immense, and beyond all example. He was prime minister, councillor of State, commander of four companies of life-guards, and generalissimo of the forces by sea and land, a rank which no person in Spain had ever possessed before him, and which was created expressly to give him precedence over the captains-general."—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

"Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the guards, reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV. He was an object of contempt and execration to all who were not his creatures. What other sentiments indeed could have been inspired by a man who owed the favour of the King only to the favours of the Queen? Godoy's power was absolute, and he made the most infamous use of it."—*Bourrienne*.

HHH.

[Page 226.]

THE MARQUIS DE CHAUVELIN.

"François Marquis de Chauvelin, descended from a celebrated French family, was born in 1770, and eagerly embraced the cause of the Revolution. In 1791 he became first aide-de-camp of General Rochambeau, and displayed so much talent that in the following year, on the proposal of Dumouriez, he was appointed ambassador to England, who, however, broke off all diplomatic intercourse with France after the execution of Louis XVI. During the Reign of Terror, Chauvelin was thrown into prison, from which he was soon afterwards released, and under the

Directory devoted himself entirely to the sciences. Napoleon appointed him prefect of the department of the Lys, and subsequently sent him into Catalonia as intendant-general. After the Restoration he was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and much admired as a popular orator."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

III.

[Page 226.]

MARET.

"Hugues Bern Maret, born at Dijon in 1758, and engaged in the French diplomatic corps, was in the year 1792 first sent by the French to the English government, in order to prevent it from joining the coalition; but his efforts were fruitless. Shortly after he was appointed ambassador to Naples; but on his way thither he was seized by the Austrian troops and imprisoned at Custrin. He obtained his release in 1795. In the year 1799 he became secretary to the consular council of State, and in 1803 accompanied the First Consul to Holland, and afterwards attended him in his various journeys. Napoleon created him Duc de Bassano."—*Biographie Moderne*.

JJJ.

[Page 235.]

THE COMTE DE VALENCE.

"Cyrus de Timbrune, Comte de Valence, born at Toulouse, a colonel of dragoons in the service of France, married the daughter of Madame de Genlis, devoted himself to the revolutionary party, and in 1791 became a general officer. In the following year he was employed in Luckner's army, and afterwards served under Dumouriez; on whose defection he became suspected, and was outlawed by the Convention. In 1799 he returned to France, was called to the Senate in 1805, and appointed commander of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne*.

KKK.

[Page 238.]

GORSAS.

"A. J. Gorsas, born at Limoges in 1751, edited a journal in 1780, and was one of the first promoters of the Revolution. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, and connected himself with the Girondins, in whose fate he was involved, being condemned to death in 1793. Gorsas was the author of an amusing satirical work entitled 'The Carrier Ass.'"—*Biographie Moderne*.

LLL.

[Page 239.]

CHAUMETTE.

"P. G. Chaumette, attorney of the commune of Paris, was born at Nevers in 1763. His father was a shoemaker. After having been a cabin-boy, a steersman, a transcriber, and an attorney's clerk at Paris, he worked under the journalist Prudhomme, who describes him as a very ignorant fellow. He soon acquired great power in the capital, and in 1793 proposed the formation of a revolutionary tribunal without appeal, and a tax on the rich. At the same time he contrived the Festivals of Reason, and the orgies and profanations which polluted all the churches in Paris, and even proposed that a moving guillotine, mounted on four wheels, should follow the revolutionary army, 'to shed blood in profusion!' Chaumette also proposed the cessation of public worship and the equality of funerals, and procured an order for the demolition of all monuments of religion and royalty. He was executed, by order of Robespierre, in 1794, twenty days after Hebert, to whose party he had attached himself."—*Biographie Moderne*.

MMM.

[Page 243.]

HEBERT.

"J. R. Hebert, born at Alençon, was naturally of an active disposition and an ardent imagination, but wholly without information. Before the Revolution he lived in Paris by intrigue and imposture. Being employed at the theatre of the Variétés as receiver of the checks, he was dismissed for dishonesty, and retired to the house of a physician, whom he robbed. In 1789 he embraced with ardour the popular party, and soon made himself known by a journal entitled *Father Duchesne*, which had the greatest success among the people, on account of the violence of its principles. On the 10th of August Hebert became one of the members of the insurrectional municipality, and afterwards, in September, contributed to the prison massacres. He was one of the first to preach atheism and organize the Festivals of Reason. His popularity, however, was brief, for he was brought to the scaffold, together with his whole faction, by Robespierre, in 1794. He died with the greatest marks of weakness, and fainted several times on his road to execution. On all sides he heard, 'Father Duchesne is very uneasy, and will be very angry when Samson (the executioner) makes him tipsy.' A young man, whose entire family he had destroyed, called out to him, 'To-day is the great anger of Father Duchesne!' On the occasion of the Queen's trial Hebert cast an imputation on her of so atrocious and extravagant a nature, that even Robespierre was disgusted with it, and

exclaimed, 'Madman! was it not enough for him to have asserted that she was a Messalina, without also making an Agrippina of her?' Hebert married a nun, who was guillotined with Chaumette and the rest of the faction of the commune."—*Biographie Moderne*.

NNN.

[Page 245.]

VALAZÉ.

"C. E. Dufriche Valazé, a lawyer, was born at Alençon in 1751. He first followed the military career, and then went to the bar. At the period of the Revolution he embraced the cause of the people, and early attached himself to the party of the Gironde. He was condemned to death in 1793, but stabbed himself as soon as he had heard his sentence: his body, nevertheless, was carried in a cart to the foot of the scaffold. At his death Valazé was forty-two years of age. He was the author of several works."—*Biographie Moderne*.

OOO.

[Page 248.]

THE PRINCE OF COBURG.

"Frederick Josias, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, an Austrian field-marshal, was born in 1737. In 1788 he took Choczim, and in connection with the Russian general Suwaroff defeated the Turks at Foesani in 1789, and conquered Bucharest. In 1793 he commanded against the French, was victorious at Aldenhoven and Neerwinden, and took Valenciennes, and several other towns; but when the Duke of York separated himself from the Austrians in order to besiege Dunkirk, Coburg was beaten at Maauberge, Chairfayt at Tournay, and the English at Dunkirk. The Prince in consequence retreated over the Rhine, and gave up his command. He died in his native city in 1815."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

PPP.

[Page 249.]

THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES.

"Charles Louis, Archduke of Austria, son of Leopold II., and brother of the late Emperor Francis, was born in 1771. He commenced his military career in 1793, commanded the vanguard of the Prince of Coburg, and distinguished himself by his talent and bravery. In 1796 he was made field-marshal of the German empire, and took the chief

command of the Austrian army on the Rhine. He fought several successful battles against the French generals Moreau and Jourdan, and forced them to retreat over the Rhine. After the battle of Hohenlinden, when the French entered Austria, the Archduke, who had previously retired from service by reason of ill health, was again placed at the head of the troops, but was compelled at length to make peace at Luneville. In 1805 he commanded an Austrian army in Italy, against Massena, over whom he gained a victory at Caldiero. In 1809 he advanced into Bavaria, where he was opposed by the whole French army, commanded by Napoleon; a hard-fought and bloody battle, which lasted five days, ensued, and the Austrians were compelled to retreat. In the same year the Archduke gained a victory at Aspern, opposite to Vienna, and compelled the French to retreat across the Danube with great loss. At the memorable battle of Wagram he was wounded, and compelled to give way, after a contest of two days. Soon after this the Archduke resigned the command of the army. In 1815 he married the Princess Henrietta of Nassau-Weilburg. He is the author of two able works on military matters."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

QQQ.

[Page 254.]

CAMBACÉRÈS.

"Jean Jacques Regis Cambacérès, descendant of an ancient family of lawyers, was born at Montpellier in 1753. At the commencement of the Revolution he received several public offices, and in 1792 became a member of the Convention. In 1793 he declared Louis XVI. guilty, but disputed the right of the Convention to judge him, and voted for his provisory arrest, and in case of a hostile invasion, for his death. As a member of the committee of public safety, Cambacérès reported the treason of Dumouriez. After the fall of the Terrorists he entered into the council of Five Hundred, where he presented a new plan for a civil code, which became subsequently the foundation of the Code Napoleon. On the 18th Brumaire he was chosen second consul, and after Bonaparte had ascended the throne, was appointed arch-chancellor of the empire. In 1808 he was created Duke of Parma. On the approach of the Allies in 1814 he followed the government, whence he sent his consent to the Emperor's abdication. On the return of Napoleon in the following year he was made president of the House of Peers, and on the Emperor's second downfall was banished, and went to live at Brussels. In 1818 the King permitted him to return to Paris, where he lived afterwards as a private individual, and died in 1824."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

"The Consul Cambacérès received company every Tuesday and Saturday, and no other house in Paris could stand a comparison with his hôtel. He was a consummate epicure, had great conversational powers, and the incidents of his narratives acquired novelty and grace from the turn of his language. I may be allowed to call him an honest man, for, looking round on all his equals in power, I have never found one of such absolute good faith and probity. His figure was extra-

ordinarily ugly as well as unique. The slow and regular step, the measured cadence of accentuation, the very look, which was three times as long as another's to arrive at its object—all was in admirable keeping with the long person, long nose, long chin, and the yellow skin, which betrayed not the smallest symptoms that any matter inclining to sanguine circulated beneath its cellular texture. The same consistency pervaded his dress; and when demurely promenading the galleries of the Palais Royal, then the Palais Egalité, the singular cut and colour of his embroidered coat, his ruffles, at that time so uncommon, his short breeches, silk stockings, shoes polished with English blacking, and fastened with gold buckles, his old-fashioned wig and queue, and his well-appointed and well-placed three-cornered hat—produced altogether a most fantastic effect. The members of his household, by their peculiarities of dress, served as accessories to the picture. Cambacérès went every evening to the theatre, and afterwards seldom failed to make his appearance with his suite, all in full costume, either in the gardens of the Tuileries or of the Palais Egalité, where everything around exhibited the most ludicrous contrast to this strange group.”—*Duchesse d'Abrantès*.

“Cambacérès, who was an inveterate epicure, did not believe it possible that a good government could exist without good dinners; and his glory (for every man has his own particular hobby) was to know that the luxuries of his table were the subject of eulogy throughout Paris, and even Europe. A banquet which commanded general suffrage was to him a Marengo.”—*Bourrienne*.

RRR.

[Page 256.]

FERAUD.

“Feraud, deputy to the Convention, voted for the death of Louis XVI.; and when the commune of Paris desired that the Girondins should be tried, he proposed to declare that they had not forfeited the confidence of the Assembly. These sentiments would have involved him in their ruin, had he not been saved by a mission to the army of the Western Pyrenees, where he received a wound in charging at the head of the columns. Being returned again to the Convention, he became a partisan of Barras, and assisted him in turning the armed force against Robespierre and his faction. When the revolt happened in 1795, he showed more courage than any of the other deputies in opposing the Terrorists at the moment when they forced the entrance of the hall; but he became the victim of his valour, for, after having been abused by the crowd, he received a pistol-shot in his breast, at the time when he was endeavouring to repulse several men who were making towards the president. His body was immediately seized and dragged into an adjoining passage, where his head was cut off, fixed on the top of a pike, and brought into the hall to the president, Boissy d'Anglas, to terrify him as well as the rest of the representatives. Feraud was born in the valley of the Daure at the foot of the Pyrenees.”—*Biographie Moderne*.

SSS.

[Page 257.]

DUBOIS DE CRANCÉ.

"E. L. A. Dubois de Crancé joined the King's musqueteers, and became lieutenant of the marshals of France. In 1792 he was chosen deputy to the Convention, and on the King's trial, opposed the appeal to the people, and voted for his death. In the following year he was chosen president of the Convention, and member of the committee of public safety. He contributed to the fall of the Girondins, and afterwards to that of Robespierre and the Terrorists. In 1799 the Directory raised him to the administration of the war department, in the place of Bernadotte. Dubois de Crancé died in 1805, at an estate to which he had retired."—*Biographie Moderne*.

TTT.

[Page 258.]

JEAN BAPTISTE LOUVET.

The following spirited sketch of this distinguished Girondin is from the pen of one who knew him well:—"Louvét is ill-looking, little, weakly, short-sighted, and slovenly. He seems a mere nobody to the generality, who do not observe the dignity of his brow, and the fire which animates his eyes at the expression of any great truth. Men of letters are acquainted with his pretty novels; but politics owe more important obligations to him. It is impossible to have more wit, less affectation, and more simplicity than Louvet. Courageous as a lion, simple as a child, a feeling man, a good citizen, a vigorous writer, he in the tribune can make Catiline tremble; he can dine with the Graces, and sup with Bachaumont."—*Madame Roland*.

UUU.

[Page 269.]

COLONEL MACK.

"Charles, Baron von Mack, an Austrian general, was born in Franconia in 1752. On leaving college his inclination led him to enlist as a private in a regiment of dragoons; and in the war with Turkey he obtained a captain's commission. On the occurrence of war with France, Mack was appointed quartermaster-general of the army of Prince Coburg, and directed the operations of the campaign of 1793. In 1797 he succeeded the Archduke Charles in the command of the army of the

Rhine. In 1804 he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Tyrol, Dalmatia, and Italy. In the following year Napoleon forced him to retreat beyond the Danube, and to submit to the famous capitulation of Ulm. Mack died in obscurity in the year 1828."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

VVV.

[Page 275.]

SKETCH OF ROBESPIERRE.

Here is the most accurate picture ever drawn of Robespierre and of the suspicions by which he was haunted. It is a conversation.

"No sooner was Robespierre aware that I was going to speak to him about the quarrels of the Convention than he said, 'All those deputies of the Gironde, those Brissots, those Louvets, those Barbaroux, are counter-revolutionists, conspirators.' I could not refrain from laughing, and the laugh which escaped me soured him immediately. 'You were always *like that*. In the Constituent Assembly you were disposed to believe that the aristocrats were fond of the Revolution.' 'I was not precisely *like that*. The utmost that I could believe was that some of the nobles were not aristocrats. I thought so of several, and you still think so yourself of some of them. I was also ready to believe that we should have made some conversions among the aristocrats themselves if, out of the two means which were at our disposal, reason and force, we had more frequently employed reason, which was on our side only, and less frequently force, which may be on the side of tyrants. Take my advice: forget these dangers which we have surmounted, and which have nothing to do with those that threaten us at this moment. War was then waging between the friends and the enemies of liberty; it is now waging between the lukewarm and the earnest friends of the republic. If an opportunity were to present itself, I would say to Louvet that he is egregiously mistaken to believe you to be a royalist; but to you I deem it my duty to say that Louvet is no more a royalist than yourself. You resemble in your quarrels the Molinists and the Jansenists whose whole dispute turned on the manner in which divine grace operates upon the soul, and who mutually accused each other of not believing in God.' 'If they are not royalists, why did they labour so hard to save the King's life?' I would wager that you were yourself for mercy, for clemency. . . . But what signifies it what principle rendered the King's death just and necessary, your Brissot, your Girondins, and your appealers to the people were against it? Did they then wish to leave to tyranny all the means of raising itself again?' 'I know not whether the intention of the *appealers to the people* was to spare Capet the punishment of death: the *appeal to the people* always appeared to me imprudent and dangerous; but I can easily conceive how those who voted for it might have believed that the life of Capet as a prisoner might be, in the course of events, more useful than his death: I can conceive how they might have thought that the appeal to the people was a grand means of honouring a republican nation in the eyes of the whole world, by giving it occasion to exercise itself a signal act of generosity by an act of sovereignty.' 'It is certainly attributing fine

intentions to measures which you do not approve, and to men who are conspiring on all sides.' 'But where are they conspiring?' 'Everywhere: in Paris, all over France, all over Europe. In Paris, Gensonné is conspiring in the Faubourg St. Antoine, by going from shop to shop and persuading the shopkeepers that we patriots want to plunder their houses. The Gironde long since formed a plan for separating itself from France, and uniting itself with England; and the leaders of its deputation are themselves the authors of this plan, which they are determined to execute at any rate. Gensonné does not conceal this; he tells everybody who chooses to listen to him, that they are not here the representatives of the nation, but the plenipotentiaries of the Gironde. Brissot conspires in his journal, which is a tocsin of civil war; it is well known that he is gone to England, and it is equally well known why he is gone; we are not ignorant of his intimate connection with the minister for foreign affairs, with Lebrun, who is from Liege, and a creature of the house of Austria; the best friend of Brissot is Clavières, and Clavières has conspired wherever he has breathed; Rabaud, traitor, like a Protestant and a philosopher as he is, has not been cunning enough to conceal from us his correspondence with the courtier and traitor Montesquieu: they have been labouring for these six months together to open Savoy and France to the Piedmontese; Servan has been appointed general of the army of the Pyrenees merely to give up the keys of France to the Spaniards; lastly, there is Dumouriez, who no longer threatens Holland, but Paris; and when that charlatan of heroism was here, *when I was anxious to have him arrested*, it was not with the Mountain that he dined every day, but with the ministers and the Girondins.' 'Three or four times with me for example.' 'I am quite tired of the Revolution; I am ill. Never was the country in greater dangers, and I doubt whether it will extricate itself from them. Well, are you still in the humour to laugh, and to believe that these are very upright men, very good republicans?' 'No, I am not tempted to laugh; but I can hardly repress the tears which must be shed for the country, when one sees its legislators a prey to such frightful suspicions on such paltry grounds. I am sure that there is nothing real in all your suspicions; but I am sure, too, that your suspicions are a very real and a very great danger. Almost all these men are your enemies; but none of them, excepting Dumouriez, is an enemy to the republic; and if you could on all sides divest yourselves of your animosities, the republic would no longer be in any danger.' 'Are you not going to propose to me to remodel Bishop Lamouret's motion?' 'No; I have profited sufficiently by the lessons at least which you have given me; and the three National Assemblies have taken the trouble to teach me that the best patriots hate their enemies much more than they love their country. But I have one question to ask; and I beg you to reflect before you answer me: Have you any doubt about all that you have just been saying?' 'None.' I left him, and withdrew in long amazement, and in great fear on account of what I had just heard.

"A few days afterwards I was leaving the executive council; I met Salles coming out of the National Convention. Circumstances became more alarming. All who had any esteem for one another could not meet without feeling irresistibly impelled to talk about public affairs.

"Well," said I to Salles, on meeting him, 'is there no way of putting an end to these horrible quarrels?' 'Why, yes, I hope so; I hope that I shall soon tear off all the veils that still cover those atrocious villains

and their atrocious conspiracies. But as for you, I know that you always had a blind confidence; I know that it is your mania not to believe anything.' 'You are wrong: I believe, like other people, but on presumptions, not on suspicions, on attested facts, not on imaginary ones. Why do you suppose me, then, to be so incredulous? Is it because I would not believe you in 1789 when you assured me that Necker was plundering the exchequer, and that people had seen mules laden with gold and silver which he was sending off by millions to Geneva. This credulity, I confess, has been quite incorrigible in me; for to this very day I am persuaded that Necker left here more millions of his own than he carried away of ours to Geneva.' 'Necker was a knave; but he was nothing in comparison with the villains by whom we are now surrounded; and it is about these that I want to talk to you if you will hear me. I will tell you everything, for I know it all. I have unravelled all their plots. All the plots, all the crimes of the Mountain began with the Revolution: Orleans is the chief of that band of brigands; and it is the author of that infernal novel *Liaisons Dangereuses*, who drew up the plan of all the atrocities which they have been committing for these five years. The traitor Lafayette was their accomplice, and it was he who, making believe to thwart the plot in its very outset, sent Orleans to England to arrange everything with Pitt, the Prince of Wales, and the Cabinet of St. James's. Mirabeau was also in that affair. He received money from the King to cloak his connection with Orleans; but he received still more from Orleans to be serviceable to him. The grand business for the Orleans party was to induce the Jacobins to enter into its designs. They durst not attempt this in a direct manner: it was therefore to the Cordeliers that they first applied. In the Cordeliers all were instantly bought up, and became their devoted tools. Bear in mind that the Cordeliers have always been less numerous than the Jacobins, and have always made less noise: that is, because they wish everybody to be their instrument, but they do not wish everybody to be in their secret. The Cordeliers have always been the hotbed of conspirators: it is there that Danton, the most dangerous of all, forms and trains them to audacity and lying, brings them up to murder and massacres: it is there that they practise the part which they are afterwards to act at the Jacobins; and the Jacobins, who assume the air of leading France, are themselves led, without being aware of it, by the Cordeliers. The Cordeliers, who seem to be concealed in a hole in Paris, are negotiating with Europe, and have envoys in all the Courts, who have sworn the ruin of our liberty. The fact is certain; I have proofs of it. In short, it is the Cordeliers who have engulfed one throne in a sea of blood, in order to make another throne spring up from it. They well know that the right side, on which are all the virtues, is also the side that includes the genuine republicans; and if they accuse us of royalism, it is because they want a pretext for letting loose upon us the fury of the multitude—it is because it is easier to find daggers against us than reasons. In a single conspiracy there are three or four. When the whole of the right side shall be slaughtered, the Duke of York will come and place himself on the throne, and Orleans, who has promised it him, will assassinate him; Orleans will himself be assassinated by Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, who have given him the same promise, and the triumvirs will divide France, covered with ashes and blood, among them, until the ablest of them, that is, Danton, assassinates the other two, and reigns alone, first under the title of dictator, afterwards, without disguise, under that of king. Such is

their plan, be assured; by dint of reflection I have found it out; everything proves and makes it evident: see how all the circumstances bind and unite together: there is not an occurrence in the Revolution but is a part and a proof of these horrid plots. You look surprised, I see: can you still be incredulous?' 'I am indeed surprised; but tell me, are there many of you, that is, of the right side, who think like you on this subject?' 'All, or nearly all. Condorcet once made some objections; Si yes communicates but little with us; Rabaud, for his part, has another plan, which in some respects agrees with, and in some differs from mine: but all the others have no more doubt than myself of what I have just told you: all feel the necessity of acting promptly, of *putting the irons in the fire*, in order to prevent so many crimes and calamities, in order not to lose all the fruit of a Revolution which has cost us so dear. In the right side there are members who have not sufficient confidence in you; but I who have been your colleague, who know you for an honest man, for a friend of liberty, assure them that you will be for us, that you will assist us with all the means that your office places at your disposal. Can you now have the slightest doubt left as to what I have just told you about those villains?' 'I should be too unworthy of the esteem which you express for me if I gave you reason to think that I believe the truth of this whole plan, which you conceive to be that of your enemies. The greater the number of circumstances, men, and things you introduce into it, the more probable it appears to yourself, and the less so it appears to me. Most of the circumstances out of which you weave the tissue of this plan have had an object which there is no need to lend them, which is self-evident: and you give them an object which is not self-evident, and which you must lend them. Now, there must be proofs, in the first place, for rejecting a natural explanation; and there must be other proofs afterwards to induce the adoption of an explanation that does not naturally present itself. For instance, everybody believes that Lafayette and Orleans were enemies, and that it was to deliver Paris, France, and the National Assembly from many inquietudes that Orleans was prevailed upon or forced by Lafayette to withdraw for a time from France: it is necessary to establish, not by assertion, but by proofs, 1st, that they were not enemies; 2ndly, that they were accomplices; 3rdly, that the journey of the Duc d'Orleans to England had for its object the execution of their plots. I know that with so strict a mode of reasoning we run the risk of letting crimes and calamities run off before us without overtaking them, and without stopping them by foresight; but I know, too, that in giving the reins to the imagination, we build systems upon past events and upon future events; we lose all the means of clearly discerning and duly appreciating present events; and while dreaming of thousands of misdeeds which nobody is meditating, we deprive ourselves of the faculty of seeing with certainty those by which we are threatened; we drive enemies who are not over-scrupulous to the temptation of committing such as they would never have thought of. I have no doubt that there are many villains about us: the unbinding of all the passions has produced them, and they are paid by foreign gold. But depend upon it, if their plans are atrocious, they are neither so vast, nor so great, nor so complicated, nor conceived and framed at such a distance. In all this there are many more thieves and murderers than profound conspirators. The real conspirators against the republic are the kings of Europe and the passions of the republicans. To repulse the kings of Europe our armies are sufficient, and more than sufficient;

to prevent our passions from consuming us there is one way, but it is unique—lose no time in organizing a government possessing strength and deserving confidence. In the state in which your quarrels leave the government, a democracy even of twenty-five millions of angels would soon be a prey to all the furies and to all the dissensions of pride; as Jean-Jacques observed, it would require twenty-five millions of gods, and nobody ever yet took it into his head to imagine so many. My dear Salles, men and great assemblies are not so formed as that there shall be only gods on one side, and only devils on the other. Wherever there are men with conflicting interests and opinions, even the good have bad passions; and the bad themselves, if you strive to penetrate into their souls with kindness and patience, are susceptible of right and good impressions. I find in the bottom of my soul the evident and invincible proof of at least one-half of this truth: I am good myself, and as good, I will venture to say, as any of you; but when, instead of refuting my opinions with argument and good temper, they are repelled with suspicion and insult, I am ready to drop reasoning and to see if my pistols are properly charged. You have made me twice minister, and twice you have done me a very ill service: nothing but the dangers that surround you and that surround me could induce me to retain the post which I hold. A brave man does not apply for leave of absence on the eve of a battle. The battle, I foresee, is not far distant; and though I foresee, too, that you will fire at me from both sides, I am determined to remain. I will tell you on every occasion what I shall believe in my reason and my conscience to be true; but let me tell you that I shall take for guides my own conscience and my own reason, and not those of any other man on earth. I have not laboured for thirty years of my life to make a lantern for myself, and then to suffer myself to be lighted on my way by the lantern of others.’

“Salles and I parted, shaking hands and embracing, as though we had still been colleagues in the Constituent Assembly.”—*Garat's Memoirs*.

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[Page 276.]

THE INSURRECTION IN LA VENDÉE.

“When the agitation of the public mind in La Vendée first occupied the attention of government, Petion proposed that a force should be sent there sufficient to overawe the people, and thus spare the effusion of blood. But the ruling party ceased to preach moderation, when the tidings of the more general insurrection reached the Convention. It came indeed from all sides—one cry of alarm. The Convention instantly outlawed every person who should have taken part with the counter-revolutionists; the institution of juries was suspended; every man taken in arms was to be put to death within four and twenty hours; and the evidence of a single witness before a military commission was to be considered proof sufficient. Death and confiscation of property were also declared against the nobles and priests. The effect which this system produced was to madden the Vendéans—cruelties provoked cruelties; and on their side the burning desire of vengeance was

exasperated by conduct on the part of their enemies more resembling that of infernal agents than of men. It is affirmed that it was one of their pleasures to burn the cattle alive in their stalls, and that more than eleven hundred thousand were destroyed by them thus wantonly and in sport. Rossignol offered a reward of ten livres for every pair of royalist ears—it was actually claimed and paid, and there were men who wore human ears as cockades! The insurrection in La Vendée, according to Hoche's statement, cost the lives of six hundred thousand Frenchmen, and not a fifth part of the male population was left alive. The state in which these unhappy provinces were left may be understood from a single anecdote. Near Chollet there were extensive bleaching-grounds, the proprietors of which kept a great number of watch-dogs: the town, after having been sacked and burned, was repeatedly disputed, till at length, both parties, weary of contending for a heap of ruins, abandoned it. The dogs, to the number of four or five hundred, took possession of the ruins, and remained there for many weeks feeding on the unburied bodies. After the pacification, when the refugees attempted to return and rebuild their houses, the animals had become so ferocious that they attacked and would have devoured them; and a battalion of republican soldiers were actually obliged to march against the dogs, and exterminate them, before the place could be reinhabited."—*Quarterly Review*.

ORIGIN OF THE WAR IN LA VENDÉE.

The Bocage is an appellation of local fitness which has been disregarded in the political divisions of the country. Under the old monarchy it made part of Poitou, of Anjou, and of the Comté Nantais: under the revolutionary distribution, it lies in the four departments of the Lower Loire, the Maine and Loire, the two Sèvres, and La Vendée. The nature of the country, and the character and circumstances of the inhabitants, were alike peculiar. The whole surface consists of low hills and narrow valleys; scarcely a single eminence rises above the other sufficiently to give a commanding view, and there is no extent of level ground. These valleys are watered with innumerable brooklets flowing in different directions, some towards the Loire, some making their way to the sea, others winding till they reach the Plain, a slip of land on the south border of the Bocage, where they form small rivers. Such is the general appearance of the country. Along the Sèvre towards Nantes it assumes a wilder character: farther east towards the Loire, the valleys expand, and the declivities fall in wider sweeps. There are few forests: but the whole region has the woody appearance of a Flemish landscape. The enclosures are small, and always surrounded with quick hedges, in which trees stand thickly; these trees are pollarded every fifth year, a stem of twelve or fifteen feet being left standing. Only one great road, that from Nantes to Rochelle, traverses the country. Between this and the road from Tours to Bordeaux, by way of Poitiers, an interval of nearly one hundred miles, there are only cross-roads of the worst description. The byways are like those in Herefordshire, where the best account which a traveller hears is, that there is a good bottom when you come to it. They are narrow passes worn in a deep soil between high hedges, which sometimes meet overhead—miry in the wet season, and rugged in summer. Upon a descent, the way usually serves both for a road and the bed of a brook. One of these ways is like another: at the

end of every field you come to a cross-road, and the inhabitants themselves are bewildered in this endless labyrinth if they go a few miles from their own home.

"The Bocage includes about seven-ninths of the Vendean country. There are two other natural divisions: the Plain, which has already been slightly mentioned, and which took no direct part in the war; and the Marsh, or the sea-coast, a track intersected with innumerable ditches and canals, where the inhabitants bear all the external marks of sickness and misery; yet have they enjoyments of their own; and charms might be found in the region itself were it not for its insalubrity. M. Berthre de Bourniseaux, a Vendean, compares his native country to a vast body covered with arteries—but without a heart; without roads, without navigable rivers, without any means of exportation—it had no trade to stimulate, no centre to enliven, no cities to civilize it. The largest towns contained not more than from two to three thousand inhabitants: the villages were small and at wide intervals, and the country was divided into small farms, rarely any one exceeding six hundred franes in rent. The chief wealth was in cattle; and the landholders usually divided the produce with the tenant. A property which consisted of five and twenty or thirty such farms was thought considerable. There was therefore no odious inequality in La Vendée, and the lords and vassals were connected by ties which retained all that was good of the feudal system, while all that was evil had passed away. The French writers lament the unimproved state of the people, their ignorance, their prejudices, and their superstitions; but nowhere in France were the peasantry more innocent or more contented, nowhere have they shown themselves capable of equal exertions and equal heroism. There was little pride among the gentry, and no ostentation; they dwelt more upon their estates than was usual in other provinces, and thus, for the most part, escaped the leprous infections of Paris. Their luxury lay in hospitality, and the chase was their sole amusement: in this the peasantry had their share. When the wolf, the boar, or the stag was to be hunted, the curé gave notice in the church, and the country turned out at the time and place appointed, every man with his gun, with the same alacrity and obedience which they afterwards displayed in war. On Sundays the peasantry danced in the court of the Château, and the ladies of the family joined them. The lords seem to have been their own stewards: they went about their farms, talked with their tenants, saw things with their own eyes, shared in the losses as well as the gains, attended at the weddings and drank with the guests. It was not possible that revolutionary principles could mislead a people thus circumstanced.

"There are historical grounds for supposing that the Vendéans are descended from the Huns, Vandals, and Piets who subdued the western parts of France: their form and complexion support this opinion, giving strong indications that they are neither of Gallic nor Frank descent. Perhaps nothing distinguishes them more from Frenchmen in general than their remarkable taciturnity, unless it be the purity of manners for which their countrymen extol them. Drunkenness is the sin which most easily besets them; worse vices are said to have been almost unknown to them before the civil wars; and the Vendéans in general were said to be good fathers, good sons, and good husbands. Few quarrels occurred among them, and no lawsuits: they had a wholesome proverb, that no saint had ever been a lawyer, and their disputes therefore were always referred and easily accommodated by friendly arbitration. Among

their sports, there are two which seem deserving of notice. Commune would challenge commune to a trial of strength, like that which concludes the game of steal-clothes in the West of England—a line is drawn, an equal number of picked men lay hold of a long rope, and the party which pulls the other out of its own ground is victorious. The other sport is of an intellectual character. He who kills a pig usually invites his neighbours to a feast which is called *les rilles*; after the supper, when their spirits are all raised by wine, some one of the company mounts the table and delivers a satirical sermon. *La manière de faire l'amour tient un peu dans ce pays de celle des chats*, says M. Bourniseaux. The men pinch the girls, untie their aprons, and steal kisses, for all which the girls box their ears in return. At marriages, the bridemaids present the bride with a distaff and spindle, to remind her of her domestic duties; and with a branch of thorn, ornamented with ribbons and fruit or sweetmeats, emblematical of the sorrows as well as pleasures of the state which she is about to enter: at the same time a marriage song is sung; its tenor is that the season of joy and thoughtlessness is past, that the morning of life is gone by, that the noon is full of cares, and that as the day advances we must prepare for trouble and grief—a mournful but wholesome lesson, which is seldom heard without tears. If the bride has an elder sister still in her state of spinsterhood, she is made to spin coarse flax; and if an elder brother of the bridegroom be unmarried, he has the severe task assigned him of making a faggot of thorns. The sports continue till all the wine is consumed.

“The smaller landholders and the townsmen were on good terms with the nobles, but had not the same attachment to them as was felt by the peasantry. Among them the beginning of the Revolution was regarded with pleasure: the towns, indeed, were generally attached to the new principles; but the bond of goodwill was not broken, and the Vendéans acquit their countrymen, who took part with the republic, of any share in the atrocities which were committed. In the Plain some personal animosity was displayed during the first movement of 1789, and some châteaux were destroyed—this part of the country was much more civilized, and it may be presumed that vice had kept pace with civilization. But in the Bocage the people wished to remain as they were, believing that no change could improve a condition in which they enjoyed peace, plenty, security, and contentment. When the national guards were formed, the lord was called upon in every parish to take the command; when mayors were to be appointed, it was the lord who was everywhere chosen; and when orders were published to remove the seats of the lords from the churches, they were not obeyed in La Vendée. The peasantry had neither been stung by insults nor aggrieved by oppression; they regarded the lords as their friends and benefactors, and respect and gratitude are natural to the heart of uncorrupted man. The law which imposed a constitutional oath upon the clergy injured them more deeply; their priests were almost all born among them, they spoke the dialect as their mother-tongue, they were bred up in the same habits, and the people were attached to them by every possible tie of respect and love. Even General Turreau confesses that their lives were exemplary, and their manners truly patriarchal—*Il faut en convenir, la plupart de ceux-ci menaient une vie exemplaire, et avaient conservé les mœurs patriarcales*. When therefore their pastors were superseded by men who had taken an oath which the Vendéans held in abhorrence, the churches were deserted, the new clergy were in some places insulted, in others driven away. In a parish consisting of four thousand inhabitants,

one of these men could not obtain fire to light the church tapers. Partial insurrections took place, and blood was shed. A peasant of Bas Poitou resisted the gendarmes with a pitchfork: he had received two and twenty sabre strokes, when they cried to him, *Rends-toi ! Rends-moi mon Dieu !* was his reply, and he died as the words were uttered.

"After the 10th of August, a persecution of the refractory priests began; and the peasants, like the Cameronians in Scotland, gathered together, arms in hand, to hear mass in the field, and die in defending their spiritual father. More than forty parishes assembled tumultuously. The national guards of the Plain routed this ill-armed and worse conducted crowd, and slew about a hundred in the field. Life and free pardon were offered to others if they would only cry *Vive la nation !* There were very few who would accept of life upon these terms: the greater number fell on their knees, not in supplication to man, but in prayer to heaven, and offered themselves bravely to the stroke of death: from man they requested no other favours than that a little earth might be thrown over their remains, to preserve them from the wolves and dogs.

"The revolutionary writers insist that the war in La Vendée was the result of plans long existing and ably concerted. General Turreau says, *Il faut être bien ignorant ou de bien mauvaise foi, pour assigner une cause éventuelle et instantanée à la révolte du Bas Poitou.* General Turreau was the faithful servant of the Convention in its bloodiest days, and the faithful servant of Bonaparte after his return from Elba: he hated the old government, and he hated the Bourbons, whatever government they might establish; but he never objected to the wildest excesses of revolutionary madness, nor to the heaviest yoke of imperial despotism. General Turreau, therefore, may be sincere in disbelieving that a sense of religion and loyalty could instantaneously rouse a brave and simple people to arms, because, never having felt either the one sentiment or the other, he is utterly ignorant of their nature and their strength. He supposes a conspiracy of the emigrants, the nobles, and the priests, fomented by foreign powers. M. Bourniseaux, with more knowledge of the circumstances and the people, with more truth, with sounder philosophy, and with a better heart, ascribes the moving impulse to its real source. To expect, he says, that the nobles and clergy insulted, injured, outraged, and plundered, as they were by the Revolution—should have embraced the Revolution, would be to know little of the human heart—*C'eut été demander à la philosophie un miracle, et l'on sait que la philosophie n'en fit jamais.* But he declares that in the insurrection of La Vendée the priests and nobles were, for the most part, forced to make common cause with the insurgents; that with very few exceptions they did not come forward voluntarily to take the lead: that having taken arms, they exerted themselves strenuously: but that when terms of pacification were proposed, they were the first to submit, and the peasantry were the last. That the peasants should thus have acted, he says, may well astonish posterity: for they derived nothing but benefit from the Revolution, which delivered them from the payment of tithes and from the feudal grievances. Thus, however, it was: in Jacobinical phrase, they were not ripe for the Revolution: which is, being interpreted, they loved their King and their God, their morals were uncorrupt, their piety was sincere and fervent, their sense of duty towards God and man unshaken. Hitherto what tumults had broken out had been partial, and provoked merely by local vexations, chiefly respecting the priests: but when the Convention called for a

conscription of three hundred thousand men, a measure which would have forced their sons to fight for a cause which they abhorred, one feeling of indignation rose through the whole country, and the insurrection through all La Vendée broke forth simultaneously and without concert or plan. The same principle which made them take arms made them look to their own gentry for leaders; the opportunity was favourable; nor can it now be doubted, that if the Bourbon princes and the allied powers had known how to profit by the numerous opportunities offered them in these western provinces, the monarchy might long since have been restored.

"The 10th of March 1793 was the day appointed for drawing the conscription at St. Florent, in Anjou, upon the banks of the Loire. The young men assembled with a determination not to submit to it. After exhorting them in vain, the republican commander brought out a piece of cannon to intimidate them, and fired upon them; they got possession of the gun, routed the gendarmes, burnt the papers, and after passing the rest of the day in rejoicing, returned to grow sober, and contemplate upon the vengeance which would follow them. One of the most respectable peasants in this part of the country was a wool-dealer of the village of Pin en Mauges, by name Jacques Cathelineau. About twenty young men promised to follow wherever he would lead: he was greatly beloved and respected in his neighbourhood, being a man of quiet manners, great piety, and strong natural talents. They rang the tocsin in the village of Poitevinière; their number soon amounted to about a hundred, and they determined to attack a party of about eighty republicans who were posted at Jallars with a piece of cannon. On the way they gathered more force; they carried the post, took some horses and prisoners, and got possession of the gun, which they named *Le Missionnaire*. Encouraged by this success, which also increased their numbers, they attacked two hundred republicans the same day at Chemillé, with three pieces of artillery, and they met with the same success. At the same time a young man, by name Foret, in the same part of the country, killed a gendarme who sought to arrest him, ran to the church, rang the tocsin, and raised a second body of insurgents. A third was raised in like manner by Stofflet, a man who had served sixteen years as a soldier, and was at that time gamekeeper to the Marquis de Maulevrier. On the 16th of March both these troops joined Cathelineau; they marched that very day upon Chollet, the most important town in that part of the country, garrisoned by five hundred soldiers. These also fell into their power, and they found there arms, ammunition, and money. Easter was at hand; and the insurgents, thinking they had done enough to make themselves feared, thought they might keep the holidays as usual: they dispersed, every man to his own house; and a republican column from Angers traversed the country without meeting with the slightest resistance, and also without committing the slightest act of violence—a moderation which M. de Larochejaquelein ascribes to fear. When the holidays were over the insurgents appeared again; success had given them confidence in their strength; and looking forward with hope of some important results from the devoted spirit of loyalty which they felt in themselves, and which they well knew pervaded the country, they called for the gentry of the country to lead them on.

"There was more discipline in a feudal army, or among the troops of guerillas, than among the Vendéans. The men could not be induced to form a patrol, or act as sentinels—these were charges which they

would not undertake for any reward: and when it was necessary, the officers were obliged to perform this duty themselves. To this defect in their system some of their most ruinous defeats must be ascribed. When the army was assembled, and different columns were to be formed to march against the various points of attack, the manner of forming them was singular, and not without its advantage. Notice was given, M. de Larochejaquelein is going by such a road, who will follow him? M. Cathelineau goes in yonder direction, who follows him? The men were thus allowed to follow their favourite leader, with no other restriction than that when a sufficient number had volunteered, no more were allowed to join. A system of tactics had been formed, perfectly adapted to the nature of the troops and of the country. We have heard much of the improvements made by the French republicans in the art of war, and of the advantages which their armies derived when the field was once left open to merit, and men rose from the ranks to the highest military rank. These things imposed upon the English people too long. In La Vendée it is perfectly certain that the generals who were employed by the government had no other claim to promotion than their brutality, and their services amongst mobs or in the clubs of the metropolis. Among the royalists they were first selected from old feelings of hereditary respect; but intellect immediately rose to its level, and even before any feelings of selfishness, or ambition, or vanity mingled with and defaced the principle which first roused them to arms. Stofflet and Cathelineau were attended to in the council with as much deference, and obeyed in the field with as much readiness, as Lescure and Larochejaquelein. The first principle of the Vendéans was always to be assailants, to fight only when they pleased and where they pleased; and inasmuch as they observed this principle, they always fought to advantage. When they reached the point of attack, the companies were formed in the same manner as the column, every man following the captain whom he preferred. Their usual order of battle, according to General Turreau, was in a crescent, with the wings *en flèche*, composed of the best marksmen, men who never fired a shot without taking a steady aim, and who never at ordinary distances failed in their mark: their skill in the use of fire-arms was such that he says no military people, however trained, however skilful, could compare with the hunters and sportsmen of Loroux and the Boëage as musketeers. But order of battle was what they seldom thought of; and their tactics are more clearly explained by the Marchioness, who understood them better from the conversation of her husband and her friends, than General Turreau did from his defeats or his victories. Their whole tactics, she says, consisted in creeping behind the hedges and surrounding the enemy, which the nature of the country easily enabled them to do; then they poured in on all sides a murderous fire—not in platoons, but every man as fast as he could load, and make sure of his victim, loading with four or five balls, and firing point-blank against men in close ranks. The moment that the Blues appeared confused, or offered opportunity, they set up their dreadful yell, and sprang upon them like bloodhounds in pursuit. Men of the greatest strength and agility had it in charge to seize the artillery, to prevent it, as they said, from doing mischief. ‘You, Sir, you are a strong fellow, leap upon the cannon.’ Sometimes with no better weapon than a stake pointed with iron, the peasants would do this, and drive the enemy from their guns. If the attack was made in a more open country, they accelerated

the decisive movement, and rushed at once upon the cannon, falling upon the ground when they saw the flash, rising instantly and running towards them. But they preferred the cover in which, from their manner of firing, they were sure of killing five for one. Their officers never thought of saying, to the right or to the left; they pointed out some visible object, a house or a tree.

“Before they began the battle they said their prayer, and almost every man crossed himself before he fired his piece. Meantime, as soon as the firing was heard, the women and children, and all who remained in the villages, ran to the church to pray for the victory; and they who happened to be working a-field fell on their knees there under the canopy of heaven, and called upon the God of Hosts to protect those who were fighting for His altars and for His holy name. Throughout all La Vendée, says the Marchioness, there was but one thought and one supplication at one time. Every one waited in prayer the event of a battle upon which the fate of all seemed to depend. Turreau speaks with horror of the effect of such a system, and calls upon those officers who had served upon the frontiers, before they were sent into these departments, to say if the Austrians, or the disciplined troops of old Frederick, were as terrible in action, or possessed as much address, stratagem, and audacity as the peasants of the Bocage; to say if it were possible that any war could be more cruel and more fatiguing for soldiers of all sorts; and if they would not rather make a year's campaign upon the frontiers than serve a single month in La Vendée. ‘You are crushed,’ says he, ‘before you have time to reconnoitre, under a mass of fire, with which the effect of our ranks is not to be compared. If you withstand their violent attack, they rarely dispute the victory; but you derive little fruit from it: it is scarcely ever that cavalry can be employed in pursuit; they disperse, and escape from you over fields and hedges, through woods and thickets, knowing every path, gap, gorge, and defile, every obstacle which may impede their flight, and every means of avoiding them.’ Home they went, out of breath, but not out of heart, ready and eager for the next summons, and crying, *Vive le Roi! quand même*. . . . But inasmuch as their flight was easy, retreat for the republicans became murderous. Lost among the labyrinthine roads of the Bocage, they fell in small parties into the hands of the villagers, who made sure, in the retreat, of all stragglers. The pursuit was terrible: the conquerors knew the ground; they understood where and how to intercept the fugitives; they could load as they ran, and keep up as quick a fire in the chase as in the battle. The benefits which the republicans derived from five or six victories were not equal to the evils which they endured in one defeat. ‘Dead bodies,’ says Turreau, ‘were all the spoils of the field: neither arms nor ammunition were ever taken. If the Vendean was pursued he had his musket, and when in danger of being taken he broke it. But the raw levies whom the Convention at first sent against them threw away their arms and encumbrances as soon as they took panic; and if only two or three hundred men were left upon the field, the royalists gathered up twelve or fifteen hundred muskets.’

“If there be one thing more honourable to the Vendean than another in this memorable contest, it is that the republicans never could establish a system of espionage among them; whenever they attempted to employ one of the natives as a spy, the man either trifled with them, or betrayed them. And this Turreau gives as one reason for laying waste the country with fire and sword, and exterminating the people—but of

this hereafter. Their zeal was carried to the utmost height: even this general, the agent of Robespierre and Bonaparte, compares it to that with which the crusaders were animated, and says that the defenders of the Throne and the Altar seemed to have taken the *Preux* of the days of chivalry for their models. They went to battle, he says, as to a festival; women and old men, and priests and children, exciting and partaking the rage of the soldiers: he had himself seen boys of twelve years old slain in the ranks; and he may be believed, for M. de Puisaye affirms that Boisguay, who commanded a division of three thousand men among the Chouans, was but fifteen. M. Berthre de Bourniseaux denies the stories which are related of their superstition and gross credulity; yet there are passages in the Marchioness's Memoirs which clearly show their proneness to superstition: and surely the cause in which they were engaged, the perpetual danger in which they lived, and the horrors which were continually before their eyes, were likely to inflame their imaginations. It is said that some of the priests promised them a miracle, and declared that all who were killed by the enemy in the cause of the holy church should rise again from the dead on the third day. It is added that many women kept the bodies of their husbands and their sons unburied, in expectation of this resurrection; and a yet wilder tale is told by Prudhomme, which some German poet whose imagination revolts at no conceivable horror might think a fit subject to be clothed in verse. A girl who had heard and believed this opinion, suddenly remembered it as she was watching by the death-bed of her lover. It occurred to her how happy it would be for both if he could be made a partaker of this resurrection: he was too weak to leave his bed—oh, that the Blues might find him there, and give him his crown of martyrdom! Some republican troops entered the village; she fired at them from the window, and escaped by a back door into the woods. They broke open the doors and murdered the dying man. After some hours she returned: her first design had been accomplished; and she closed the door carefully. The second day she placed provisions by the bedside; the third day, came and called him: and clung still to the hope of seeing him revive, till the fourth morning, when she could no longer resist the painful evidence of her senses.

"This was a case of individual madness, the effect of love, grief, credulity, and insane hope. From such cases no general inferences can be drawn; but that the Vendéans were generally under the influence of strong religious enthusiasm is certain. Man, who is by nature religious, always becomes superstitious in proportion as he is ignorant or ill-instructed; and times of public calamity are always times of fanaticism. But however exalted the imaginations of this brave people may have been, and however extravagant their expectations of the visible interference of heaven, their earthly desires, if the monarchy should by their efforts be restored, indicate equal moderation and nobleness of mind. First they would have asked that the whole of the Bocage, which now made part of three provinces, should be formed into a separate province under the name of La Vendée, a name which they now regarded with becoming pride; they would have entreated the King that he would be pleased once to honour it with his presence; that a corps of Vendéans might form part of his body-guard; and that in memory of the war the white flag might always be hoisted upon the towers of all their churches. They desired no diminution of imposts, no exemption from military services, no peculiar privileges; but they would have solicited that some former plans for opening roads and rendering their streams navigable might

be effected. Such was the recompense which the Vendéans would have asked if they had succeeded in overthrowing the Jacobin tyranny, and placing the innocent Dauphin upon the throne of his murdered father. Shame be to the Bourbons if it be not accorded them now!"—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xv.

XXX.

[Page 279.]

LAMARQUE.

"F. Lamarque was a member of the Convention, and voted for the death of Louis XVI. He early declared against the Girondins, and was sent to the army of the North, with some other commissioners, to arrest Dumouriez; but that general delivered them up to the Prince of Coburg, and they were kept in confinement by the Austrians till 1795, when they were exchanged for the daughter of Louis. In 1800 Lamarque was appointed prefect of the department of the Tarn, which he held till the year 1804, when he was appointed one of the tribunal of cassation, and decorated with the legionary cross."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 280.]

GENERAL FERRAND.

"P. E. Ferrand, a nobleman, and during the Revolution a general of brigade, was born at Castres. In 1792 he was employed under Dumouriez, and commanded part of his left wing at Jemappes. Some time after he was appointed commander of Mops, and in 1793 defended Valenciennes for eighty-seven days. In 1804 he retired to La Planchette, near Paris, and died there in 1805, at seventy years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 286.]

BOUCHOTTE.

"Bouchotte, commandant of Cambray, having long remained in obscurity, was raised in 1793 to the administration of the war department, in the room of Beurnonville. Having escaped the perils of the Reign of Terror, he retired to Metz, and was there called to the municipal and elective functions in 1799. He retired from active life in the year 1805."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 287.]

BRÉARD.

"Jean Jacques Bréard was a landholder at Marennnes. In 1791 he was appointed deputy to the Legislative Assembly, was re-elected to the National Convention, and voted for the death of the King. He was then appointed president, and soon afterwards a member of the committee of public safety. In 1795 he entered into the council of ancients, and retired into private life in the year 1803."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 287.]

LINDET.

"Jean Baptiste Robert Lindet, a lawyer, and attorney-syndic of the district of Bernay, was deputy from Eure to the Legislature, where he showed some degree of moderation; but having afterwards connected himself with the party of the Mountain, he was generally considered as one of the most wary chiefs of the party. He voted for the King's death in the Convention, and proposed a scheme for organizing a revolutionary tribunal. In 1799 he was summoned to the administration of finance, a place which he retained till the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 303.]

CHALIER.

"M. J. Chaliér, an extravagant Jacobin, an inhabitant of Lyons, was born in 1747 at Beautard, in Dauphiné, of a Piedmontese family, who returned to their native country, where he was educated. He embraced the ecclesiastical profession, was driven from his country, and after having narrowly escaped the gibbet in Portugal, and again in Naples, he went to Lyons, was received into the family of a merchant as a preceptor, said mass in that town for about two years, and at last went into business, in which he accumulated a considerable fortune by dishonesty and trickery. He joined the revolutionary party with an enthusiasm bordering on madness; and went to Paris, where he spent six months with Marat to profit by his lessons. On his return to Lyons he was appointed municipal officer, and all his colleagues were ready to second his fury. The mayor alone sought to oppose their efforts. Twelve hundred citizens had been imprisoned. Chaliér, despairing of their condemnation, appeared in 1793 in the central society with a poniard

in his hand, and obtained a decree that a tribunal, similar to those at Paris which had committed the September massacres, should be established on the Quay St. Clair, with a guillotine, that nine hundred persons should there be executed, and their bodies thrown into the Rhone, and that in case executioners should be wanting, the members of the society should themselves perform this office. The mayor, at the head of the armed force, prevented this horrible execution; but he could not obtain the trial of several members who had been seized. The people of Lyons, irritated at length by such tyranny, raised the standard of war against the Convention, and delivered Chalier to a tribunal which condemned him to death in 1793."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 308.]

CATHELINEAU.

"Jacques Cathelineau was a wool-dealer of the village of Pin en Mauges, who took the resolution of standing up for his King and country, facing the evils which were not to be avoided, and doing his duty manfully in arms. His wife entreated him not to form this perilous resolution; but this was no time for such humanities; so, leaving his work, he called the villagers about him, and succeeded in inducing them to take up arms."—*Quarterly Review*.

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[Page 308.]

STOFFLET.

"Stofflet was at the head of the parishes on the side of Maulevrier. He was from Alsace, and had served in a Swiss regiment. He was a large and muscular man, forty years of age. The soldiers did not like him, as he was harsh and absolutely brutal; but they obeyed him better than any other officer, which rendered him extremely useful. He was active, intelligent, and brave, and the generals had great confidence in him."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefauquelein*.

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[Page 311.]

FRANCOIS ATHANASIOS CHARETTE.

"Charette, who was of a noble and ancient Breton family, and in his thirtieth year, was living upon his estates when the insurgents called on him to take the command. He refused at first, and pointed out to them the perilous consequences of so rash a measure; a second time they came,

and were a second time dismissed with the same prudential advice. But a week after Cathelineau had raised the standard in Anjou, the insurgents again appeared, and declared they would put him to death unless he consented to be their leader. 'Well,' said he, 'you force me to it: I will lead you on; but remember that you obey me, or I will punish you severely.' An oath of obedience was voluntarily taken; and the chief and people swore to combat and die for the re-establishment of their religion and the monarchy. Turreau calls Charette the most ferocious of all the rebel chiefs.—*Quarterly Review*.

"Charette was a sensualist. He loved women very much for his own sake—very little for theirs; always won by them, but never subjected, he gave himself up to the impulse of passion, without bending his soul to the insinuating and sometimes perfidious blandishments of a mistress."—*Le Bouvier-Desmortiers*.

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[Page 311.]

GENERALS BONCHAMPS AND D'ELBÉE.

"M. de Bonchamps, chief of the army of Anjou, was thirty-two years old, and had served with distinction in India. His valour and talents were unquestioned. He was considered as one of the ablest of the chiefs, and his troops as the best disciplined. He had no ambition, no pretensions, was gentle, of an easy temper, much loved by the army, and possessing its confidence. In the grand army the principal chief at one time was M. d'Elbée, who commanded particularly the people round Chollet and Beaupreau. He had been a sub-lieutenant, and retired for some years; he was forty, of a small stature, extremely devout, enthusiastic, and possessed an extraordinary and calm courage. His vanity, however, was easily wounded, which made him irritable, although ceremoniously polite. He had some ambition; but his views were narrow. His tactics consisted in rushing on with these words: 'My friends, Providence will give us the victory.' His piety was very sincere; but as he found it was a means of animating the peasants, he carried it to a degree of affectation often ridiculous. He carried about his person images of saints, and talked so much of Providence that the peasants, much as they loved him, used to call him, without meaning a joke, 'General Providence.' But in spite of these foibles, M. d'Elbée inspired every one with respect and attachment."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*.

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[Page 312.]

THE MARQUIS DE LESCURE.

"The Marquis de Lescure was born in 1766. Among the young people of his own age none was better informed, more virtuous in every respect; he was at the same time so modest that he seemed ashamed

of his own merit, and his endeavour was to conceal it. He was timid and awkward, and although of a good height and figure, his manners and unfashionable dress might not be prepossessing at first. He was born with strong passions, yet he conducted himself with the most perfect correctness. He took the sacrament every fortnight, and his constant habit of resisting all external seductions had rendered him rather unsocial and reserved. His temper was always equal, his calmness unalterable, and he passed his time in study and meditation."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.*

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[Page 312.]

LAROCHEJAQUELEIN.

Henri de Larochejaquelein was twenty years old at the breaking out of the war in La Vendée. He had lived little in the world; and his manners and laconic expressions had something in them remarkably simple and original. There was much sweetness as well as elevation in his countenance. Although bashful, his eyes were quick and animated. He was tall and elegant, had fair hair, an oval face, and the contour rather English than French. He excelled in all exercises, particularly in horsemanship. When he first put himself at the head of the insurrection he said to his soldiers, 'My friends, I am but a boy, but by my courage I shall show myself worthy of commanding you. Follow me if I go forward—kill me if I fly—avenge me if I fall.'—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.*

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[Page 318.]

GENERAL HOUGHARD.

"J. N. Houghard was born at Forbach. He entered the service very young, was at first a common soldier, obtained rapid promotion during the Revolution, and in 1792 was made colonel of a regiment of cavalry hussars. In 1793 he obtained the chief command of the army of the Rhine in the place of Custines, and in the same year passed to that of the North. Without possessing great military talents, Houghard was bold and active, and defeated the Allies in several battles. Under pretence that he had neglected his duty, the Jacobins brought Houghard before the revolutionary tribunal, which condemned him to the scaffold in 1793.—*Biographie Moderne.*

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[Page 325.]

HENRI LARIVIÈRE.

"P. F. J. Henri Larivière, a lawyer at Falaise, was in 1791 deputed from Calvados to the Legislative Assembly. Being re-elected to the Convention, he proposed the exile of Louis till there should be a peace. Shortly afterwards, when the struggle arose between the Mountain and the Gironde, he took a decided part in favour of the latter. He was one of the twelve commissioners appointed to put an end to the conspiracies of the municipality of Paris, but gave up the cause by resigning in the midst of the denunciations directed against it. Having contrived to remain concealed during the Reign of Terror, Larivière joined the Council of Five Hundred, and inveighed strongly against the Jacobins. Some time afterwards he went to England, and joined the partisans of the Bourbons."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 335.]

HÉRAULT DE SÉCHELLES.

"M. J. Héault de Séchelles, born at Paris in 1760, began his career at the bar by holding the office of King's advocate at the Châtelet. In the house of Madame de Polignac, where he visited, he met the Queen, who, delighted with his conversation, promised to befriend him. Having eagerly embraced revolutionary notions, he was appointed commissioner of government to the tribunal of cassation, and was afterwards deputed to the original legislature, as also to the Convention, on becoming a member of which he joined the revolutionary part of that body with uncommon ardour. Héault was absent from Paris during the King's trial, but wrote a letter to the Convention, declaring that he deserved death. In the contest that afterwards took place between the Mountain and the Gironde, Héault figured in the Convention among the most conspicuous and zealous supporters of the former faction. Having made himself obnoxious to Robespierre, he was sentenced to death in 1794. He then gave himself up for a time to gloomy reflections, walked for above two hours with the other captives in the prison while waiting the moment of execution, and took leave of them with great tranquillity. Héault enjoyed a very considerable fortune; his figure was elegant, his countenance pleasing, and his dress studied, which during the reign of *sans-culottism* drew on him many sarcasms from his colleagues. In the midst of the blood and tears which drenched France in 1793 he still found leisure for gallantry and poetry, which made no slight impression on the young and beautiful wife of Camille-Desmoulins."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"Héault de Séchelles was the author of that ridiculous code of anarchy, the constitution of 1793."—*Mercier*.

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[Page 338.]

THEROIGNE DE MERICOURT.

"Theroigne de Mericourt, a celebrated courtesan, born in Luxembourg, acted a distinguished part during the first years of the French Revolution. She was connected with various chiefs of the popular party, and served them usefully in most of the insurrections. Above all, in 1789, at Versailles, she assisted in corrupting the regiment of Flanders by taking into the ranks other girls of whom she had the direction, and distributing money to the soldiers. In 1790 she was sent to Liege to assist the people to rise there; but the Austrians arrested her in 1791 and took her to Vienna. Here the Emperor Leopold had an exciting interview with her, and set her at liberty in the course of a short time. In 1792 she returned to Paris, and showed herself again on the theatre of the Revolution. She appeared with a pike in her hand at the head of an army of women, frequently harangued the clubs, and particularly signalized herself on the 10th of August. During the Reign of Terror she was placed in a madhouse; and among the papers of St. Just was found a letter from her, dated 1794, in which is seen the wandering of a disordered imagination."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 339.]

CAPTURE OF FONTENAY.

"On the 24th of May, towards mid-day, the Vendéans approached Fontenay, and found ten thousand republicans, with a powerful train of artillery, waiting for them. Before the attack the soldiers received absolution. Their generals then said to them, 'Now, friends, we have no powder; we must take these cannon with clubs.' The soldiers of M. de Lescure, who commanded the left wing, hesitated to follow him. He therefore advanced alone, thirty paces before them. A battery of six pieces fired upon him with case shot. His clothes were pierced—his left spur carried away—his right boot torn—but he himself was not wounded. The peasants took courage and rushed on. At that moment, perceiving a large crucifix, they threw themselves on their knees before it. They soon rose and again rushed on. Meantime Larochejaquelein, at the head of the cavalry, charged successfully. The republican horse fled; but instead of pursuing them, they turned on the flank of the left wing, and broke through it. This decided the victory. Lescure was the first to reach the gate of the town with his left wing, and entered it; but his peasants had not courage to follow him. M. de Bonchamps and M. de Foret perceived his danger, and darted forward to his assistance. These three had the temerity to penetrate alone into the streets, but were soon followed by their soldiers. The battle of Fontenay, the most brilliant the Vendéans had yet fought, procured

them forty pieces of cannon, many muskets, a great quantity of powder, and ammunition of all kinds. They took also two boxes, one of which contained nearly 900,000 francs, and was kept for the use of their army. There was considerable embarrassment respecting the republican prisoners, whose numbers amounted to three or four thousand. My father proposed to cut off their hair, which would secure their being known again, and punished if taken a second time; the measure was adopted, and occasioned much mirth among our people."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefoucauld*.

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[Page 339.]

SPEECHES OF ROBESPIERRE.

The real sentiments of Robespierre relative to the 31st of May are manifest from the speeches which he made at the Jacobins, where men spoke out much more freely than in the Assembly, and where they conspired openly. Extracts from his speeches at various important periods will show the train of his ideas in regard to the great catastrophe of the days between the 31st of May and the 2nd of June. His first speech, delivered on occasion of the pillages in the month of February, affords a first indication.

Sitting of February 25, 1793.—"As I have always loved humanity, and never sought to flatter any man, I will proclaim the truth. This is a plot hatched against the patriots themselves. It is intriguers who want to ruin the patriots. There is in the heart of the people a just feeling of indignation. I have maintained, amidst persecutions, and unsupported, that the people are never wrong; I have dared to proclaim this truth at a time when it was not yet recognized; the course of the Revolution has developed it. The people have so often heard the law invoked by those who were desirous to bring them beneath their yoke, that they are distrustful of that language. The people are suffering; they have not yet reaped the fruit of their labours; they are yet persecuted by the rich, and the rich are still what they always were, that is, hard-hearted and unfeeling. (*Applause.*) The people see the insolence of those who have betrayed them; they see wealth accumulated in their hands; they feel their own poverty; they feel not the necessity of taking the means for attaining their aim: and when you talk the language of reason to them they listen only to their indignation against the rich, and suffer themselves to be hurried into false measures by those who seize their confidence for the purpose of ruining them. There are two causes—the first, a natural disposition in the people to relieve their wants, a disposition natural and legitimate in itself: the people believe that in the absence of protecting laws they have a right to provide themselves for their necessities. There is a second cause. That cause consists in the perfidious designs of the enemies of liberty, of the enemies of the people, who are well aware that the only means of delivering us up to the foreign powers is to alarm the people on account of their supply of provisions, and to render them the victims of the excesses thence resulting. I have myself been

an eye-witness of the disturbances. Beside the honest citizens, we have seen foreigners and opulent men, dressed in the respectable garb of *sans-culottes*. We have heard them say, 'We were promised abundance after the death of the King, and now that there is no King we are more wretched than ever.' We have heard them declaim, not against the intriguing and counter-revolutionary part of the Convention, which sits where sat the aristocrats of the Constituent Assembly, but against the Mountain, against the deputation of Paris, against the Jacobins, whom they represented as forestallers. I do not tell you that the people are culpable; I do not tell you that their riots are a crime; but when the people rise, ought they not to have an aim that is worthy of them? But ought paltry shop-goods to engage their attention? They derive no benefit from them, for the loaves of sugar were taken away by the valets of the aristocracy; and supposing that they had profited by them, what are the inconveniences that might thence result? Our adversaries wish to frighten all who possess any property; they wish to persuade men that our system of liberty and equality is subversive of all order, all security. The people ought to rise, not to carry off sugar, but to crush the brigands. (*Applause.*) Need I picture to you past dangers? You had nearly fallen a prey to the Prussians and Austrians: a negotiation was on foot; and those who then trafficked with your liberty are the same that have excited the present disturbances. I declare in the face of the friends of liberty and equality, in the face of the nation, that in the month of September, after the affair of the 10th of August, it was decided in Paris that the Prussians should advance without obstacle to this capital."

Sitting of May 8, 1793.—"We have to wage an external and an internal war. The civil war is kept up by the enemies of the interior. The army of La Vendée, the army of Bretagne, and the army of Coblenz are directed against Paris, that citadel of liberty. People of Paris! the tyrants are arming against you, because you are the most estimable portion of humanity; the great powers of Europe are rising against you; all the corrupt men in France are seconding their efforts. After you have formed a conception of this vast plan of your enemies, you ought easily to guess the means of defending yourselves. I do not tell you my secret; I have manifested it in the bosom of the Convention. I will reveal to you this secret, and were it possible that this duty of the representative of a free people could be deemed a crime, still I would confront all dangers to confound the tyrants and to save liberty. I said this morning in the Convention that the partisans of Paris should go forth to meet the villains of La Vendée, that they should take along with them by the way all their brethren of the departments, and exterminate all, yes, all the rebels at once. I said that all the patriots at home ought to rise, and take away the capacity for mischief both from the aristocrats of La Vendée, and the aristocrats disguised under the mask of patriotism. I said that the rebels of La Vendée had an army in Paris; I said that the generous and sublime people, who for five years have borne the weight of the Revolution, ought to take the necessary precautions that our wives and our children may not be delivered up to the counter-revolutionary knife of the enemies whom Paris contains in its bosom. None dared dispute this principle. These measures are of urgent, of imperative necessity. Patriots, fly to meet the banditti of La Vendée. They are formidable only because the precaution had been taken to disarm the people. Paris must send forth republican legions; but while we are making our domestic enemies tremble, it is

not right that our wives and our children should be exposed to the fury of the aristocracy. I proposed two measures: the first, that Paris should send two legions sufficient to exterminate all the wretches who have dared to raise the standard of rebellion. I demanded that all the aristocrats, all the Feuillans, all the moderates, should be expelled from the sections which they poisoned with their impure breath. I demanded that all suspected citizens should be put under arrest. I demanded that the quality of suspected citizens should not be determined by the quality of *ci-devant* nobles, *procurateurs*, financiers, and tradesmen. I demanded that all citizens who have given proof of *incivism* may be imprisoned till the end of the war, and that we may have an imposing attitude before our enemies. I said that it was requisite to procure for the people the means of attending the sections without prejudice to its means of existence, and that to this end the Convention should decree that every artisan living by his labour should be paid for all the time that he might be obliged to keep himself under arms, for the preservation of the tranquillity in Paris. I demanded that the necessary millions should be appropriated to the manufacture of arms and pikes, for the purpose of arming all the *sans-culottes* of Paris. I demanded that forges and workshops should be erected in the public places, that all the citizens might be witnesses of the fidelity and activity of the operations. I demanded that all the public functionaries should be displaced by the people. I demanded that the municipality and the department of Paris, which possesses the confidence of the people, should cease to be shackled. I demanded that the factious who are in the Convention should cease to calumniate the people of Paris, and that the journalists who pervert the public opinion should be reduced to silence. All these measures are necessary, and to sum up, here is the acquittal of the debt which I have contracted towards the people. I demanded that the people should make an effort to exterminate the aristocrats who exist everywhere. (*Applause.*) I demanded that there should be in the bosom of Paris an army, not like that of Dumouriez, but a popular army, which should be continually under arms to overawe the Feuillans and the moderates: this army to be composed of paid *sans-culottes*. I demand that there be assigned to it sufficient funds for arming the artisans and all good patriots: I demand that they be at all the posts, and that their imposing majesty make all the aristocrats turn pale. I demand that to-morrow forges be erected in all the public places, where fire-arms shall be manufactured for arming the people. I demand that the executive council be charged with the execution of these measures upon its responsibility. If there be any who resist, if there be any who favour the enemies of liberty, let them to-morrow be driven away. I demand that the constituted authorities be charged to superintend the execution of these measures, and that they bear in mind that they are the representatives of a city which is the bulwark of liberty, and whose existence renders counter-revolution impossible. In this critical moment duty commands all patriots to save the country by the most vigorous means. If you suffer the patriots to be slaughtered in detail, all that is most virtuous on earth will be annihilated; it is for you to see if you will save the human race." All the members rose by a simultaneous impulse, and waving their hats, cried, "Yes, yes, we will." "It is because your glory, your happiness, are at stake, and it is from this motive alone that I conjure you to watch over the welfare of the country. You conceive, perhaps, that you ought to revolt, that you ought to assume the air of insurrection: no such thing; it is law in

hand that we must exterminate all our enemies. It is with consummate impudence that the unfaithful representatives have attempted to separate the people of Paris from the departments, that they have attempted to separate the people of the tribunes from the people of Paris, as if it were a fault in us that we have made all possible sacrifices to enlarge our tribunes for the whole population of Paris. I say that I am speaking to the whole population of Paris, and if it were assembled in this place, if it were to hear me plead its cause against Buzot and Barbaroux, it is not to be doubted that it would range itself on my side. Citizens, people magnify our dangers; they represent the foreign armies united with the rebels of the interior; but what can their efforts accomplish against millions of intrepid *sans-culottes*? And if you adopt this proposition that one freeman is worth a hundred slaves, you may easily calculate that your force surpasses that of all the powers put together. You have in the laws all that is requisite for exterminating our enemies legally. You have aristocrats in the sections: expel them. You have liberty to save: proclaim the rights of liberty, and exercise all your energy. You have an immense host of *sans-culottes*, very pure, very vigorous: they cannot leave their work; make the rich pay them. You have a National Convention; it is very possible that the members of that Convention are not all alike friends of liberty and equality; but the greater number are determined to support the rights of the people and to save the republic. The gangrened portion of the Convention will not prevent the people from fighting the aristocrats. Do you then conceive that the Mountain of the Convention will not have sufficient strength to curb all the partisans of Dumouriez, of Orleans, and of Coburg? Indeed, you cannot think so. If liberty succumbs, it will be less the fault of the representatives than of the sovereign! People! forget not that your destiny is in your hands; it is your duty to save Paris and mankind; if you fail to do it you are guilty. The Mountain needs the people; the people are supported by the Mountain. They strive to alarm you in every way; they want to make us believe that the departments are enemies to the Jacobins. I declare to you that Marseilles is the everlasting friend of the Mountain; that at Lyons the patriots have gained a complete victory. I sum up, and demand, 1st, that the sections raise an army sufficient to form the nucleus of a revolutionary army, that shall collect all the *sans-culottes* of the departments to exterminate the rebels; 2nd, that an army of *sans-culottes* be raised in Paris to overawe the aristocracy; 3rd, that dangerous intriguers, that all the aristocrats, be put in a state of arrest; that the *sans-culottes* be paid at the expense of the public exchequer, which shall be supplied by the rich, and that this measure extend to the whole of the republic. I demand that forges be erected in all the public places. I demand that the commune of Paris keep up with all its power the revolutionary zeal of the people of Paris. I demand that the revolutionary tribunal make it a duty to punish those who lately have blasphemed the republic. I demand that this tribunal bring without delay to exemplary punishment certain generals, taken in the fact, and who ought already to be tried. I demand that the sections of Paris unite themselves with the commune of Paris, and that they counterbalance by their influence the perfidious writings of the journalists in the pay of foreign powers. By taking all these measures, without furnishing any pretext for saying that you have violated the laws, you will give an impulse to the departments, which will join you for the purpose of saving liberty."

Sitting of Sunday, May 12, 1793.—"I never could conceive how it was possible that in critical moments there should be so many men to make propositions which compromise the friends of liberty, while nobody supports those which tend to save the republic. Till it is proved to me that it is not necessary to arm the *sans-culottes*, that it is not right to pay them for mounting guard, and for assuring the tranquillity of Paris; till it is proved to me that it is not right to convert our public places into workshops for making arms, I shall believe and I shall say that those who, setting aside these measures, propose to you only partial measures, how violent soever they may be, I shall say that these men know nothing of the means of saving the country: for it is not till after we have tried all those measures which do not compromise society that we ought to have recourse to extreme measures: besides, these measures ought not to be proposed in the bosom of a society which should be wise and politic. It is not a moment of transient agitation that will save the country. We have for enemies the most artful and the most supple men, who have at their disposal all the treasures of the republic. The measures which have been proposed have not and cannot have any result; they have served only to feed calumny, they have served only to furnish the journalists with pretexts for representing us in the most hateful colours. When we neglect the first means that reason points out, and without which the public welfare cannot be brought about, it is evident that we are not in the right track. I shall say no more of that; but I declare that I protest against all those means which tend only to compromise the society without contributing to the public welfare. That is my confession of faith; the people will always be able to crush the aristocracy: let the society only beware of committing any gross blunder. When I see the pains that are taken to make the society enemies to no purpose, to encourage the villains who are striving to destroy it, I am tempted to believe that people are blind or evil-disposed. I propose to the society to resolve upon the measures which I have suggested, and I regard as extremely culpable those who do not cause them to be carried into execution. How can such measures be disapproved? How can any one help feeling their necessity, and if feeling it, hesitate for a moment to support them and enforce their adoption? I shall propose to the society to listen to a discussion of the principles of the constitution that is preparing for France: for it must necessarily embrace all the plans of our enemies. If the society can demonstrate the Machiavelism of our enemies it will not have wasted its time. I demand, therefore, that setting aside unseasonable propositions, the society permit me to read to it my paper on the constitution."

Sitting of Sunday, May 26, 1793.—"I said to you that the people ought to repose upon their strength; but when the people are oppressed, when they have nothing left but themselves, he would be a coward who would not bid them rise. It is when all the laws are violated, it is when despotism is at its height, it is when good faith and modesty are trampled under foot, that the people ought to rise. That moment is come: our enemies openly oppress the patriots—they want, in the name of the law, to plunge the people back into misery and slavery. Never will I be the friend of those corrupt men, what treasures soever they offer me. I would rather die with republicans than triumph with villains. (*Applause.*) I know but two modes of existing for a nation—either it governs itself, or it commits this task to representatives. We republican deputies desire to establish the government of the people by

their representatives, with responsibility: it is by these principles that we square our opinions; but most frequently we cannot obtain a hearing. A rapid signal given by the president deprives us of the right of expressing our sentiments. I consider that the sovereignty of the people is violated when their representatives give to their creatures the places which belong to the people. On these principles I am deeply grieved." . . . The speaker was here interrupted by the announcement of a deputation. (*Tumult.*) "I shall continue to speak," resumed Robespierre, "not for those who interrupt one, but for the republicans. I expect every citizen to cherish the sentiment of his rights; I expect him to rely upon his strength and upon that of the whole nation; I exhort the people to put themselves in a state of insurrection in the National Convention against all the corrupt deputies. (*Applause.*) I declare that, having received from the people the right to defend their rights, I regard as my oppressor any one who interrupts me or prevents me from speaking; and I declare that I singly put myself in a state of insurrection against the president and against all the members who sit in the Convention. (*Applause.*) When a culpable contempt for the *sans-culottes* shall be affected, I declare that I will put myself in a state of insurrection against the corrupt deputies. I exhort all the Mountaineer deputies to rally, and to fight the aristocracy; and I say that there is but one alternative for them—either to resist with all their might the efforts of intrigues, or to resign. It is requisite at the same time that the French people should know their rights; for the faithful deputies can do nothing without liberty of speech. If treason calls the foreign enemy into the bosom of France—if, when our gunners hold in their hands the thunderbolts which are to exterminate the tyrants and their satellites, we see the enemy approach our walls, then I declare that I will myself punish the traitors, and I promise to consider every conspirator as my enemy, and to treat him accordingly." (*Applause.*)

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[Page 345.]

THURIOT LAROSIERE.

"Jacques Alexandre Thuriot Larosiere, a barrister in the parliament of Paris, was appointed in 1791 deputy from the Marne to the Legislature; and being afterwards appointed to the Convention, demanded that the King should be tried within three days, and sentenced to lose his head on the scaffold. In the same year he attacked the Girondins, and accused them of having intrigued to uphold the throne. He was afterwards named president, and then member of the committee of public safety. After the overthrow of Robespierre and his party, Thuriot presided in the Jacobin Club, and was some time afterwards employed by the Directory in the capacity of civil commissioner to the tribunal of Rheims. In 1805 he was made member of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne.*

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[Page 348.]

COUTHON.

"J. Couthon, surnamed Cato during the Reign of Terror, was born at Orsay in 1756, and was an advocate at Clermont. He was deputed to the Legislature and the Convention. Before this period he enjoyed in his own country a reputation for gentleness and integrity; yet he embraced the revolutionary principles with astonishing eagerness, and during the sitting of the Convention showed himself the most ardent partisan of sanguinary measures. Prudhomme says, that it was in his chamber at Paris that the Duc d'Orleans, Danton, Marat, Petion, Robespierre, and others assembled to arrange the insurrection of the 10th of August 1792. In the following year Couthon voted for the King's death, and eagerly opposed delay. He soon afterwards attacked the Girondins, and became the favourite tool of Robespierre. Being sent to Lyons, he presided at the execution of the rebel chiefs, and began to put in force the decree which ordered the demolition of that city. Being afterwards implicated with the party of Robespierre, the armed force came to seize him; when he perceived they were going to lay hold of him, he struck himself slightly with a dagger, and feigned himself dead. In the year 1794 he was executed, and suffered horribly before he died. His singular conformation, and the dreadful contraction of his limbs at that time, so incommoded the executioner while fastening him on the plank of the guillotine, that he was obliged to lay him on his side to give the fatal blow. His torture lasted longer than that of fourteen other sufferers."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"Couthon was a decrepit being, whose lower extremities were paralyzed—whose benevolence of feeling seemed to pour itself out in the most gentle expressions, uttered in the most melodious tones—whose sensibility led him constantly to foster a favourite spaniel in his bosom, that he might have something on which to bestow kindness and caresses—but who was at heart as fierce as Danton, and as pitiless as Robespierre."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

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[Page 358.]

DROUET.

"Jean Baptiste Drouet, postmaster at St. Menchould, was born in 1763. It was he who recognized the King in his flight, and caused him to be arrested at Varennes. In 1792 he was chosen member of the Convention, and voted for the death of Louis. In the autumn of the following year he was sent to the army of the North, was taken prisoner, and carried to Moravia; where, having attempted to escape by springing from a window, he broke his leg, and was retaken. In 1795 he obtained his liberty, and entered the Council of Five Hundred. Dissatisfied with

the moderate system which then prevailed in France, he became, with Babeuf, one of the leaders of the Jacobin conspiracy, on which account he was arrested, but made his escape into Switzerland. He was finally acquitted, and returned to France. In 1799 he was sub-prefect at St. Menchould. During the Hundred Days he was a member of the Chamber of Deputies, but in 1816 was banished from France as a regicide."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

SSSS.

[Page 358.]

JULIEN.

"Julien of La Drome, a rank Jacobin, was commissioner of the committee of public safety during the Reign of Terror. After the establishment of the Directory he edited a journal entitled the *Plebeian Orator*, the expenses of which were defrayed by government. He accompanied the expedition to Egypt as war commissioner, and in the year 1806 was sub-inspector of the revenues."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"Julien, when only eighteen years of age, was sent from Paris on a mission to Bordeaux, to prevent an insurrection against the Mountain, and to inquire into the conduct of Ysabeau and Tallien. Here he made himself notorious by his cruelties, and was even heard to exclaim one day in the popular society, that if milk was the food of old men, blood was that of the children of liberty, who rested on a bed of corpses."—*Prudhomme*.

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[Page 359.]

LAREVEILLIÈRE-LEPEAUX.

"Lareveillière-Lepeaux, born in 1753, studied at Angers, and afterwards went to Paris, intending to become an advocate there. Instead of this, however, he returned to his native place, devoted himself to botany, and became professor of that science at Angers, where he established a botanic garden. Being deputed to the States-general, he excited attention by the hatred he showed to the higher orders. On being appointed a member of the Convention he voted for the King's death. Though attached to the Gironde, he managed to escape the proscription of that party, and lay concealed during the whole Reign of Terror. He afterwards became one of the Council of the Ancients, and then of the Directory. He was unwearied in labour, but his want of decision always excluded him from any influence in important affairs, and he made himself ridiculous by his whim of becoming the chief of the sect of the Theophilanthropists. In 1799 he was driven from the Directory, and returned again to his favourite books and plants."—*Biographie Moderne*.

"It was well known that the fear of being hanged was Lareveillière-Lepeaux's ruling sentiment."—*Lacarrière*.

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[Page 360.]

DUSSAULX.

"J. Dussaulx, born at Chartres in 1728, was the son of a lawyer. He served in the campaign of Hanover, under Marshal Richelieu, and gained the esteem of King Stanislaus. Returning to Paris, he brought out a translation of Juvenal, and in 1776 was made a member of the Academy of Inscriptions. Becoming a member of the Convention, he voted for the King's detention, and his banishment on a peace. In 1796 he was appointed president of the Council of Ancients. He died in 1799 after a long and afflicting illness. He was the author of several works, of which the best is his translation of Juvenal's satires."—*Biographie Moderne*.

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[Page 360.]

BOISSY D'ANGLAS.

"Boissy d'Anglas, barrister in the parliament, *maître d'hôtel* to Monsieur, was in 1789 deputed to the States-general. In 1792 he was elected to the Convention, and voted for the King's detention till banishment should be thought proper. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he was chosen secretary to the tribune, and particularly entrusted with the care of watching that Paris was properly supplied with provisions. In 1795, at the moment when he was beginning a report on this subject, he was interrupted by a mob of both sexes, who, having broken through the guard, were crying out, 'Bread, bread, and the constitution of 1793.' This tumult having been quelled, a fresh one broke out a few days after, when Boissy d'Anglas, who was seated in the president's chair, was several times aimed at by twenty guns at once. One of the rioters placed himself right before him, carrying at the end of a pike the head of the deputy Ferraud, when Boissy showed a coolness which was not without effect upon the mob, and for which next day he received the universal applause of the tribune. In 1796 he was appointed president of the Council of Five Hundred, and in 1805 became a member of the Senate, and commandant of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne*.

WWWW.

[Page 364.]

FALL OF THE GIRONDINS.

"Thus fell, without a blow struck, or sword drawn in their defence, that party in the Convention which claimed the praise of acting upon pure republican principles; which had overturned the throne, and led

the way to anarchy merely to perfect an ideal theory. They fell, as the wisest of them admitted, dupes to their own system, and to the impracticable idea of ruling a large and corrupt empire by the motives which may sway a small and virtuous community. They might, as they too late discovered, as well have attempted to found the Capitol on a bottomless and quaking marsh, as their pretended republic in a country like France. Their violent revolutionary expedients, the means by which they acted, were turned against them by men whose ends were worse than their own."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

"Thus fell the Gironde, the true representatives of liberty; men of enlightened minds, of patriotic sentiments, and mild and moderate principles; but who necessarily gave place to those men of violence and blood, who, rising out of the perilous and unnatural situation in which the republic was placed, were perhaps alone fitted, by their furious fanaticism and disregard of all ordinary feelings, to carry the Revolution triumphantly through its difficulties, by opposing remorseless hatred to the persevering efforts of tyranny without, and cruelty and the thirst of vengeance to treachery and malice within. Virtue was not strong enough for this fiery ordeal, and it was necessary to oppose the vices of anarchy to the vices of despotism."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*.

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